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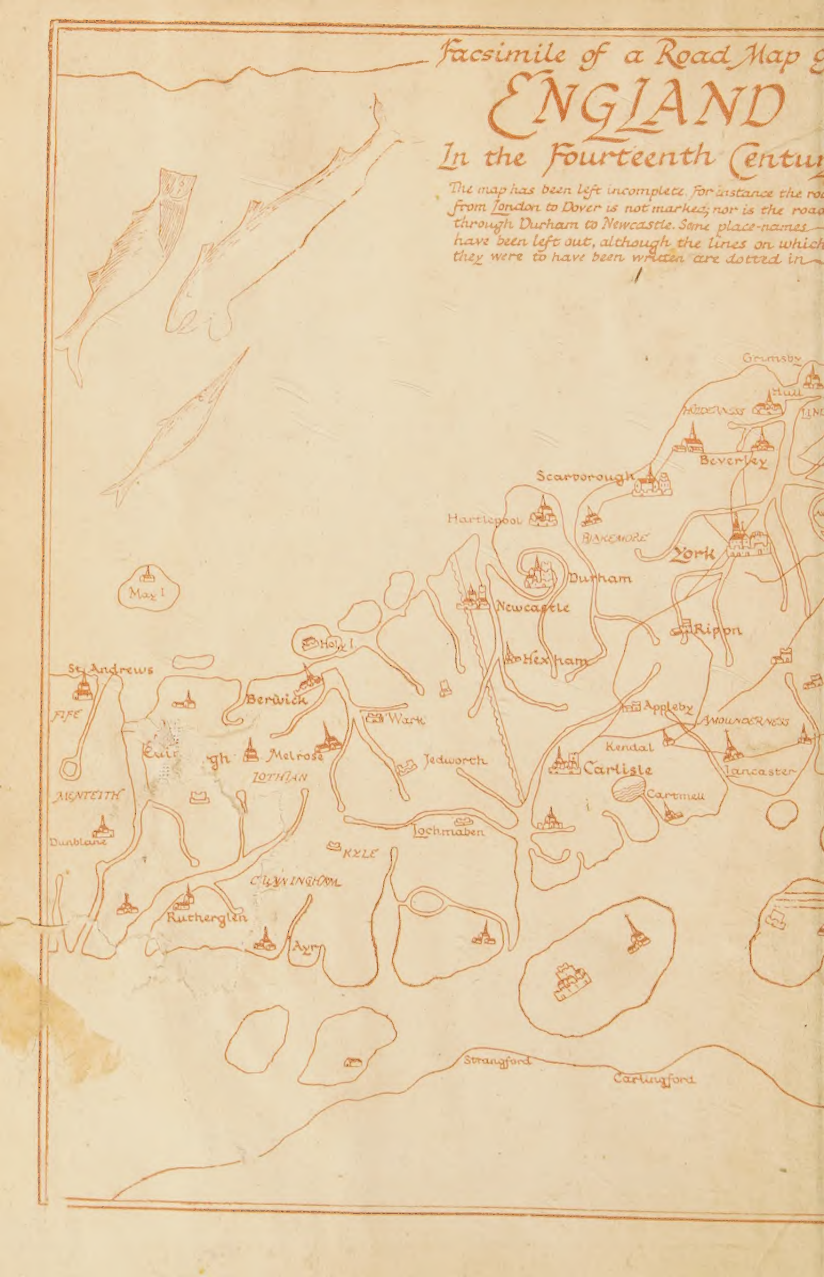
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through Durham to Newcastle. Some place-names
have been left out, although the lines on which
they were to have been written are dotted in
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Berwick
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Jedworth
Melrose
LOTHIAN
MENTEITH
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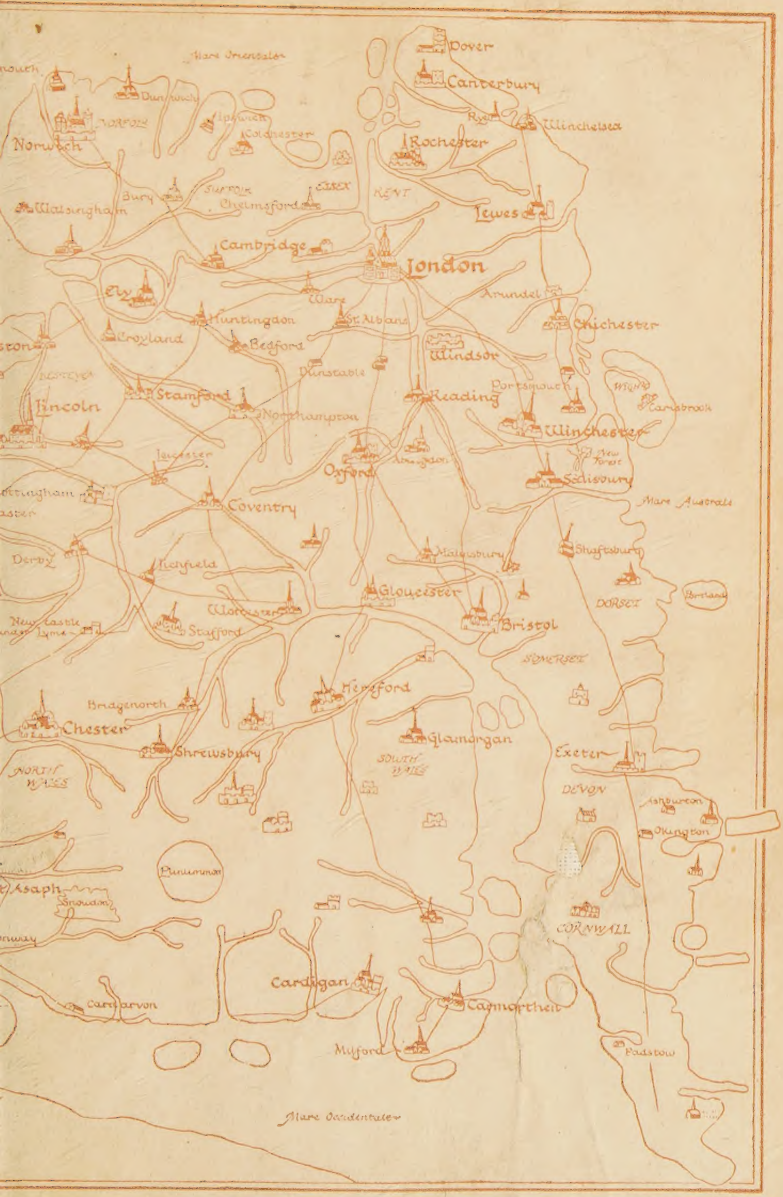
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Chester
Shrewsbury
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Exeter
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SOUTH WALES
DEVON
Okington
Asaph
Snowdon
CORNWALL
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THE PIERS PLOWMAN
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORIES

BOOK III

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General Editor, E. H. SPALDING, M.A.

Lecturer in History, Goldsmiths' College, University of London.

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BOOK III

CITY OF WESTMINSTER

BY

N. NIEMEYER

LATE LECTURER IN HISTORY AND EDUCATION AT THE TRAINING COLLEGE, DARLINGTON
LECTURER IN HISTORY AT THE GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

From the Louterell Psalter.

"A faire felde ful of folke fonde I there bytwene
Of alle maner of men, the mene and the riche,
Worching and wandryng, as the worlde asketh."
The Vision of Piers Plowman.

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PREFACE

THESE books have been written in order to depict, for the young of whatever age, some of the conditions and changes which have marked the lives of ordinary folk in past times. They trace, very simply, through the centuries, the development of England on its social side; they deal with the ways in which people lived, earned their daily bread, traded, worshipped God, travelled, amused themselves, or endured the ups and downs of life. The national story in its main outlines has been well and often told; therefore the writers of this series have assumed that their readers have at hand one of the general political accounts. The present series is in any case intended merely as an introduction to a great subject, which, when studied more fully, touches at many points literature, art, music, handicraft, the dance, the drama, and other human activities. The lists of works for additional reading are therefore not to be neglected.

Social history is important, not merely because it gives the background for the great events of the past, but also because it enables us to understand, in some measure, the motives which have swayed or led great masses of plain men. Political movements, in fact, often arise out of social conditions, while great political changes are important because of their influence on everyday human life. The two aspects of history, therefore, the social and the political, ought not to be studied entirely apart. They explain each other.

A famous old schoolbook, translated into English in 1651, gives the following advice to the writers of history books:—

"When matters atchieved are related, this is a storie; when things feigned are told, it is a tale. *Those* let an historian rehears; but to record *these* in chronicles, let him account it a mortal offens. And that it may bee manifest that they are the verie things themselves, not forged devices foisted in, let him set down in his commentaries all the matter, together with the circumstances when, how, where, etc."

These principles the writers in this series have endeavoured to honour.

The writer of this part wishes to thank the Directors of the Victoria History of the Counties of England for allowing the use of plans from the County Histories; and also to thank the Council of the Selden Society for allowing quotations to be made from one of their volumes.

E. H. S.

Goldsmiths' College,
University of London.

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PIERS PLOWMAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORIES

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

VILLAGE LIFE

In the month of April, midway in the reign of Richard II., Geoffrey Chaucer set forth to Canterbury as a pilgrim. Among the other pilgrims were four who represented well the people of the countryside. There was the hale, rosy "Frankelyn," or country gentleman, with beard "as white as a daisy"; the old spindle-shanked reeve from Norfolk; the miller, red-headed, drunken, and foul-mouthed; and the gentle, silent Plowman, brother of the parish priest. Except the Plowman, they all talked and told tales, each according to his liking. Chaucer evidently enjoyed their society. So, indeed, would most people, though the miller was a quarrelsome fellow.

It is with villages and village life such as these men knew that this chapter deals. Let us take, as an example, Bygrave village (Herts) in the 14th century. In 1307–8 there were but eighteen houses in it. Of these, by far the largest was the manor house, where the De Somery family lived from 1200 to 1385. Surrounded by its moat, it lay next the church. Probably it formed a quadrangle, with hall and kitchen, chapel, and chambers, along two sides, and stable and dairy, cowhouse, brewhouse, and bakehouse, along the other two.

The manor house was surrounded by the garden and the orchard. Beyond the church, the De Somerys had fenced in a woody piece of ground, "the Park," and they had their private rabbit warren as well. The manor house was inhabited by the successive De Somerys—Miles, Stephen, Adam, John,

Fig. 1.—Northborough Manor House, Northants, as it is to-day. Built about 1320.

and Richard. But, like other 14th-century lords, presumably, they moved from manor to manor, to avoid eating up all the food supplies in one place. When Sir Richard was not there, the manor house was inhabited by his bailiff. The bailiff [1]

[1] *Under the bailiff worked the reeve, a man chosen from the tenants by the tenants to help the bailiff. The bailiff attended to the letting of land, the holding of the manor court, and big business of that sort; the reeve helped him continually in seeing the work done in the fields, and folds, and barns. So Chaucer's reeve got good opportunities to let a man do less than he ought.*

was a salaried official who worked the lord's estate. From daybreak, when the household awoke, to dusk, when it fell

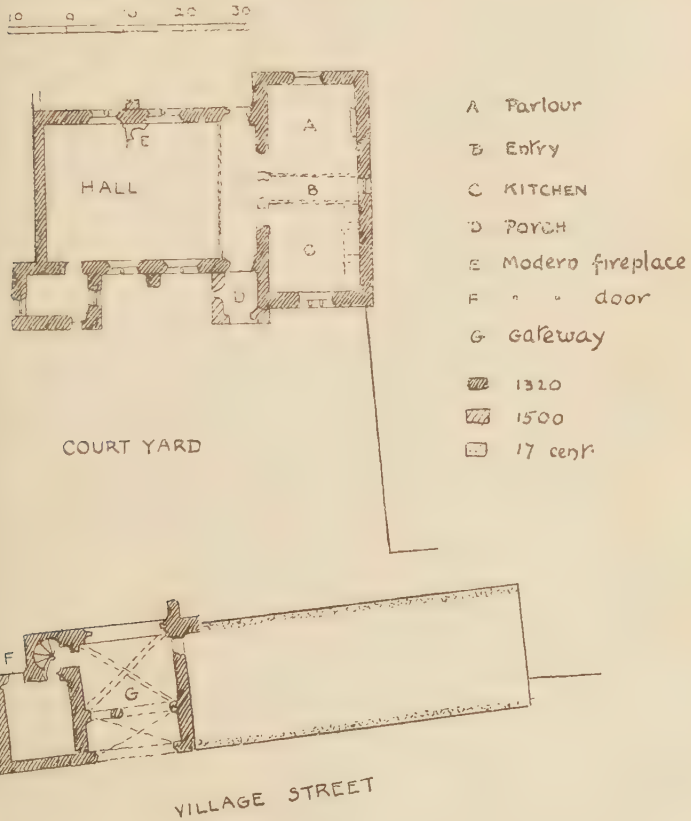


FIG. 2.—Plan of Northborough Manor House.

The modern "parlour" and "kitchen" are the old buttery and pantry. The passage between them, led from the hall to the kitchen, which is now destroyed. So, too, are the rooms west of the hall, where the lord and his family lived. Across the courtyard stands the strong gatehouse of the Manor.

asleep, he was always bustling about—in the farm buildings, in the field, in the village, at market, at the manor court, in

his own room. He had to see that the lord's demesne land was farmed properly, to sell some produce, to store the rest, to buy seed and stock, to get in the lord's dues, and to account for every penny he spent. With him, at the manor, lived the farm servants : one or two carters, one or two ploughmen, a boy or two, a man or woman cook, a shepherd, and a cowman. All these worked with the lord's tools and the lord's animals. It was not so difficult for the bailiff to see what they were doing round the house, but it was difficult to oversee all the field work. Even to-day Bygrave village lies like an island in a great stretch of land—nearly 1000 acres of undivided arable, without a lane, a hedge, a gate. Broad field paths run into the ploughed fields, and end there. In those days, the ploughed land, though not hedged, was laid out curiously. It was divided into very many long strips, each a furlong in length ; in width, most strips were $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, some double, some treble that width. Between each two strips was a very narrow ridge of grass, withered in winter, green in summer. These grassy lines were called "Balks." On each strip the furrows were wide apart, and high, for the people knew nothing of draining the land, except by letting the surface water run down between the ridges. Each of the eighteen householders of Bygrave had strips. Some had five acres in all, others thirty acres, others more—Richard de Somery, the lord, most of all. No man had all his strips lying side by side. His acres consisted of strips scattered over the whole field, in the way shown in Fig. 3.

To visit all the lord's crops, the bailiff had to walk some miles all over the fields. For long, long ago, land had been divided thus, so that each man might share both bad soil and good. And the arrangement had lasted. It could not have done so had each farmer then possessed a complete

outfit. But very few men had a plough, and very few the full team of eight oxen to pull it. So each farmer could not work his own land independently. Probably only Richard de Somery owned a full team of eight oxen. Because the other men had not stock enough for tillage, ploughing had to be done by a combined effort, as it had always been done. After harvest, and in Lent, each man brought his oxen—two, or four, or six—and his plough, if he had one. Complete teams of oxen got yoked up at last. Each plough and team did a piece of the whole field, and thus the whole was done. Whether a man's own beasts were in the team which ploughed any one of his strips was quite unimportant. If we had seen Bygrave in some 14th-century July or August we should have seen that the arable was in three great blocks, each known as a field. On strip after strip over one field was wheat and rye; on strip after strip over another field were beans or peas, barley or oats. The third large "field" was fallow, covered with the summer's growth of weeds, grazed by sheep. Farmers knew no way of resting their land but by leaving it. They could only manure it by putting animals on it. The usual plan was to grow wheat or rye on last year's fallow, to grow oats, barley, or beans on last year's wheat-land, and to leave last year's oat-land fallow. Most places worked on this "Three Field System."

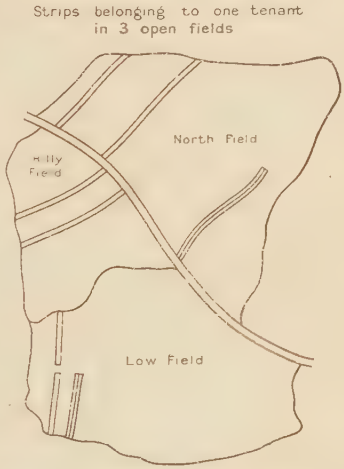


FIG. 3.—Diagram of the holding of a single tenant in three open fields.

Westwards, the open fields of Bygrave slope downwards to the little river Ivel. Down there, lay the meadow-land. In spring it was fenced in carefully to protect the hay. Each tenant had a piece of meadow; it was roughly proportionate to his arable holding.[1] About July the bailiff and tenants agreed when to mow. On that day every one turned out to mow, to rake, to bind, and toss the hay. Then the hurdles were thrown down, and each tenant sent his beast to graze on the grass.

As people lived mainly on corn grown on the arable—grain which made bread and beer—the plough-land was all-important, and the plough-beasts were important too. These beasts needed pasture. They grazed on the fallow field, and on the two ploughed fields after corn harvest, and on the meadow after hay harvest. There was also land which was permanent common. On downs, on moors, in woods, on roadsides, there was some grazing. The lord's stock and that of the tenants grazed over such places "in common." Each manor had its own customs, which decided how many beasts a man might send to the horse pasture, to the ox pasture, or to the woods. The "commons" or "commonable pasture-lands" were very unlike modern pasture fields with their neat hedges. They were more like the New Forest, or the Goodwood Downs—wide stretches of land, where the "lawns" were broken by thickets, and brambles, and hazel trees, little streams, ponds full of sedge, woods of oak and ash. Sometimes, as on the southern slopes of the Chilterns, there were miles of wood, and high bracken, and gorse, and deep grassy hollows; or, as on the northern slopes, bare hills, dotted with juniper and holly, sloping into valleys full of bushwoods. These woods were better known to the

[1] *On most manors a tenant kept the same piece year by year, but on some the pieces changed hands yearly.*

village swineherd, who took his pigs there, than to any one else. The village shepherd knew the tracks over the downs, or across the marshes, but the "commons" were very lonely. For the country was not fully occupied yet by any means.

We do not know much about the people of Bygrave under Edward II. Of Codicote, a village about fifteen miles away, we can make a clear picture. Codicote belonged to St. Alban's Abbey. It was part of the estate assigned to the cellarer.[1] In 1307–8 some twenty-eight families lived there. Naturally, as it belonged to the Abbey, no lord lived there. The manor house, "Codicote Bury," was inhabited by the bailiff. Next to the bailiff the most important man in Codicote was Robert Cheval, a freeholder. He was about three times as rich as any one else. In 1312 he built the Lady Chapel of the parish church. He held forty acres of land in one field, fifty in the second, sixty in the third, and proportionate meadow; he had strong oxen, and sleek horses; perhaps "it snowèd in his house of meat and drink," as it did in the house of Chaucer's Frankelyn. Robert Cheval was a freeholder.[2] So was John Poleyn, who held 101 acres in the common fields. A freeholder was a man of some standing. Once, long ago, in late Saxon times, freeholders had probably done much field work for their lords, as payment for their lands. But now, such work had disappeared in great part; many freeholders paid services, like those of the King's freehold tenants at King's Langley. They paid him rent in money, and came to the manor court. These "rents" were little sums, representing probably some piece of work once actually performed; but usually the "rent" had been paid for so long,

[1] *See Chap. VIII., Monks and Friars.*

[2] *Earls and abbots were "freeholders," holding their land directly from the King. A man with only half an acre might be a freeholder, too. Perhaps, on the whole, a freeholder was usually richer than a villein.*

that no one could remember the first payment. Sometimes, however, they had only been recently fixed, and then they were much heavier. Many a freeholder still had to plough a day, or reap, or mow, for his lord. The freeholder's land always descended to his heirs. The lord could not deny their claim. The freeholder's heir had to come to the lord's court to claim his inheritance, and he had to pay a sum of money called "a relief." But, then, the lord must give him the land; and if any one tried to oust him the King's judges protected him. Besides, the freeholder was quite free, personally. He could leave the manor; he could give his land, or let it; he could give his daughter in marriage, or his son to the Church, without the lord's leave.

Between Cheval and Poleyn, and the other Codicote men, there was a great difference. The other men were villeins. The distinction between free and villein originated, perhaps, before the Conquest. It certainly grew great after the Conquest, and much greater after Henry II. took freeholders under the special protection of royal judges. Now, in the 14th century, to call a freeman a villein was an insult.

At Codicote, anywhere in the village street, we might find a villein cottage. As there were woods in Codicote the cottages were probably timber framed. The builder set up two pairs of tree trunks, each pair forming an arch. One pair was about 16 feet from the other A beam from one apex to another made the roof tree. Across each arch, about 6 feet up, a cross-beam was fastened, and from cross-beam to cross-beam were laid the two side beams. This skeleton was called the "frame." The walls were often made of boughs coated with mud or plaster. In Herts, the cheapest and commonest roofing material was thatch, overhanging the walls in deep eaves. Thus a single room was made. Sometimes villagers built on a second room at the end of the first. Sometimes they

laid cross-beams from wall to wall, and covered them with planks, thus making a garret under the roof to serve as a store-room, reached by a ladder.

From the street, you stepped straight into the first room, "the house-place." All the family were there, doing whatever they had to do—cooking, nursing, mending, making, carding and combing wool, rocking the cradle, eating, sleeping, peeling rushes for lights, or scraping hides. Fowls fluttered

FIG. 4.—A Timber-framed Cottage at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, as it is to-day.

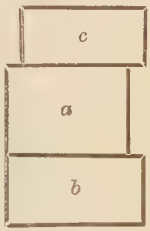


FIG. 4A.—Diagram, showing arrangement of rooms in the simplest cottages.

a. House-place.
b. Chamber.
c. Outshott.

up to the beams, pigs grunted, children whined. There was no chimney, and so the smoke got out through a hole in the roof or else drifted out through the door. The narrow windows were filled in with oiled linen, or with open lattice. Benches, stools, a trestle table, a coffer, were all home-made. The pots were made by the village smith. To the right, as you stood just within the door, was the second room, the "chamber" for man and wife, children, and guests. They slept on straw mattresses, with blankets, and a log under the head. To the left, beyond the house-place, was a little place called the "outshott," the larder. There stood the cornbin and the

cheeses, and the bowls of curds. The bacon hung in smoke, in the house-place.

In such a cottage lived a villein family, named the " Atte Hilles," of Codicote. They had held thirty acres of land in the ploughed fields so long that it was called " Hillesland." They had plough-oxen, and one or two horses, and pigs, and

FIG. 5.—A Stone-built Cottage at Barnack, Northants, as it is to-day. This cottage was probably built in the 14th century.

poultry. Behind their cottage they had stables and a pig-stye.

When Peter Atte Hill grew old he wished his son Stephen to take over Hillesland, for he was young and strong. Being a villein Peter had to transfer the land in a particular way, when he went to this lord's court. Every three weeks all the tenants of the manor were supposed to go to Codicote Bury to the court. Since the 11th century lords had held courts where tenants cases were tried. But now, in the 14th century, the lord's court only dealt with little misdeeds—slight assaults and trespasses, and small debts—and with cases concerning villein land. The King's judges tried all other cases. If a

man, bond or free, broke the byelaws made in court, or knocked another man down, or owed him money, he was judged in the manor court. But at Codicote Robert Cheval and John Poleyn were law-abiding men who hardly ever did these things, and they were very slack about coming to court for other business.[1] But there were the other villagers assembled —Walter and John Atte Strete, Roger le Loru, Edward Atte Heath, Walter and Margot Blome, Juliana Atte Pirie, Robert the Smith, Roger Carpenter, and the rest. The bailiff was

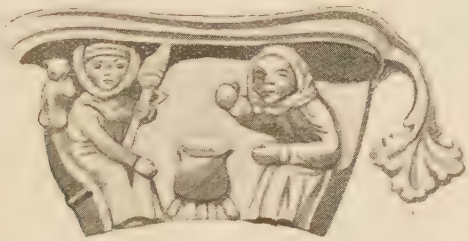


FIG. 6.—A Cottager and his Wife.

Carving under a seat at Ripple Church, Gloucestershire, about the end of the 15th century. The dame is spinning with her distaff in her left hand and the thread in her right. This scene is of a series showing the months. It is February.

sitting on the dais, at the table, and the clerk beside him was writing with a quill on a long strip of parchment. He was writing a fresh heading under his notes of the last Court—

"Codicote, Halimote of the Lord Cellarer, held there Friday after the Feast of St. Lucy in the 11th year of the Lord Edward after the Conquest the Third."

The bailiff called for silence, and at last got enough to call the roll of tenants' names. The clerk noted absentees, for they would be fined. Then the bailiff spoke to John Atte Hethe—

[1] *There may have been one or two poorer freeholders; if so, they would come to court, too.*

"John thou art to answer in this court, because forty of thy sheep were found at night in the lord's oats. How wilt thou amend this trespass?" John was not abashed: "Sir, this was not on purpose, yet I will amend it." The bailiff answered, "Justice condemns it; thou must make fine." "Gladly, since Justice condemns it." [1]

The villagers approved, for all had been done according to the custom of the court. Had the bailiff suggested putting John in the stocks they would all have corrected him with great outcry, for everything must be "according to custom" as the older men remembered it.

Next the bailiff explained that, as they all knew, people had sent out too many sheep on to the commons lately. The villagers declared that there was an old rule about this, and asked the bailiff to put twelve of the older men on oath to say what it was—they, "the jury," would "give a verdict." Their verdict was that every acre in Codicote arable fields ought to send four sheep. All accepted this as a byelaw. Any one who broke it would be fined. At last Peter stood up—

"Sir Bailiff, I, Peter Atte Hille, who am here, give up into the Lord's hand all that cottage and all that land called Hillesland (and he described exactly where each strip was) which I hold of the lord in villeinage." And Stephen said, "Fair sir, I, Stephen Atte Hille, who am here, . . . seek entry to that land . . . which was my father's." "Fair friend, Stephen, what will you give for your entry?" "Ten shillings." "Find men to pledge themselves that you will pay it." "These men here are pledges, John and Thomas." "Then do the services that your father did." "That will I." [2] Then Stephen made oath: "Hear this, my lord! I, Stephen, will be faithful to thee, . . . for the tenement I hold of thee in villeinage, so help me God and His Saints."

In those days ten shillings would have bought two horses. It was a heavy "fine." Every villein paid a fine when he took land. Every villein son had to come to court to get entry to his father's land, for the bailiff took charge of the farm on the father's death. Every transaction, leasing or

[1] *The Court Baron (Selden Soc.), pp.* 60 *and* 104.

[2] *The actual services are not known. They probably included week work (see below) and harvest work, payments of eggs and hens, and special extra works such as reaping and harrowing, together with heriot and merchet.*

letting, had to be done in court, with payments to the lord.

Stephen prospered, but he did not always pay his villein dues. When his daughter Juliana was married he never asked the lord's license. The neighbours reported this in court, as their duty was, and he was fined 2*d*. This payment on marriage, called "Merchet," was much hated. So, too, was the similar payment if a son went into the Church. In 1322 Stephen died, and his land was duly taken in charge by the bailiff. He also took the "heriot" for the lord—that is, the best beast or best article a villein had. In due course Stephen's son Henry came to the court to claim the land, and paid the fine. Five years later Henry died; again, as heriot, the best mare was taken, and the widow made fine. She was careless or wilful. She married again without the lord's license, and she ground her corn at home instead of carrying it to the lord's mill, which stood upon a little stream, in a woody bottom. Every villein was bound to grind at the lord's mill, and pay toll to the lord on the grinding.

Twenty years later the Black Death [1] swept away the Atte Hille family. Only a girl, Matilda, survived. She let her cottage fall into disrepair, and the neighbours duly reported this at court. "Where is Matilda?" said the bailiff. "Sir, I am here." "Thou hast let thy wall decay." "O, sir, ready am I to repair it." "Then this court gives thee until the next court day to repair it." Three weeks later the cottage was unrepaired; six weeks later it was so still, and Matilda had fled. She had tramped off through St. Albans and Edgeware to London, where all traces of her were lost. No villein might leave the manor without obtaining the lord's leave, and paying yearly "Head Money" (chevage). But Matilda had gone without formalities.

[1] *See Chap. II.*

Twenty-five years later the men of Codicote, in court, were still repeating orders to the bailiff to capture her.

Thus the villein had these special obligations: heriot, merchet, chevage, and the obligation to pay fine, and come to the lord's court whenever his land was concerned. But this was not all. At sunrise, on two days a week, the villein went up to the manor house and got his orders from the bailiff, and went to work on the lord's land until noon. This regular work was called "week work," the special sign of villeinage. All through winter, spring, and early summer, it went on, from September 29 to August 1. But Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, and Holy Days, gave about eight weeks' freedom. Between September 29 and August 1, there came hay harvest, autumn ploughing, and Lent ploughing—times of special stress on the farm. The villeins had to do an extra day's ploughing for the lord in spring and autumn, and after the ploughing an extra two days' harrowing. These were called Boondays. In spring, too, each villein gave two days' hoeing in the lord's corn, and each brought another man with him both days. Then, in hay harvest, each villein reaped an acre of the lord's hay, and carted four loads.

The weeks between August 1 and September 29 were the busiest time of the year for the farmers, for they were the weeks of corn harvest. Then each villein worked three days a week for the lord. At Christmas he took two hens to the manor house. At Easter he brought ten eggs. And he paid 6*d*. a year. Such were the services on one manor. At Codicote we do not know exactly what the services were, but it is clear that they were like these. Such services fall into three groups—"week work," "harvest work," and little gifts. These three types existed on most manors, but little differences were innumerable. The bailiff had to know exactly the custom of the particular manor. He had to use the

villein's work to the best advantage, and to oversee it, for villein's work was notoriously slack. Again and again in court bailiff or neighbours said "that John the Herd did not reap the lord's corn promptly on being set to work" (fine 3*d.*), that Ralph did not come to reap the lord's barley as he ought (fine 6*d.*), and Katherine did not come to toss the hay (fine 2*d.*). The court was very important to the lord as his only means of punishing villeins who did not come to work.

Most manors had a poorer class of villein tenant who held a cottage and about three to ten acres of arable, with proportionate rights to meadow and pasture. At King's Langley they were called "cotterells," and these each had a cottage and about three acres. Each paid the lord 2*s.* 3*d.* a year, tossed the hay, gave him a hen at Christmas, and came to four Boondays, on which days the lord gave them their dinner—probably salt herrings, cheese, and beer.[1]

Thus, on many a manor in 1300, the main work on the demesne was done by the villeins. In their spare time they cultivated their own land. They did what is done now by two sets of people, the distinct classes of farmers and day-labourers. As the lord had villeins, the farm servants at the manor house were few and the wages bill short. Because he had villeins, the bailiff's work was unnecessarily complicated. And for the same reason, the labour put into the ground was often ineffective. But during the first quarter of the 14th century,[2] all over the South, the Midlands, and the Eastern Counties, villeins were beginning to make money payments instead of doing work. At a royal manor, King's Langley, even under Edward I., the men said that they *either* reaped the King's

[1] *At Walkern, halfway between Codicote and Bygrave, similar people paid rent. The work of such people usually included harvest work, payments, and gifts of hens and eggs. They were called sometimes "cottagers," "cottars," "bordars," "fiveacremen," "Mondaymen."*

[2] *Of course, the change began earlier in some places.*

meadows *or* paid 3*s.* 1*d.*; and *either* hoed the King's corn *or* paid 6*s.* 8*d.* In Lent, 1308, Edward II.'s bailiff got 1*d.* from each man, instead of using the man and his beasts for a day's harrowing at harvest. When the men owed 410 days' work in all, the bailiff took 2*d.* from each, and they all went off to their own harvesting. In that autumn the bailiff got about 78*s.* by "selling works." Then he bargained with day-labourers to do the work by the piece—to reap an acre at such a price, or to bind and stack so much grain. He paid about 76*s.* for this, and so he saved about 2*s.* on the transaction. He saved his own time, too; he got far better work, and he enabled the villeins to get in their crops more quickly, and so get the wheat in better condition. The better their corn was, the more could they get at market for any surplus they had to sell. And the better off they were, the better did they keep their holdings and pay their dues to the lord.

The change of labour services into payment is called commutation. In the early years of Edward III., on many manors, the ordinary week work was commuted, and commuted permanently; and the harvest work was sometimes commuted and sometimes not. Commutation depended chiefly on the villein's ability to pay. In villages near boroughs where the villeins could sell their produce, they could often pay, for they were beginning to prosper under the comparative peace of Edward I. and Edward III. There it was that bailiffs began to need larger permanent staffs to farm servants, and extra hired labour at hay harvest (June–July) and wheat harvest (August–September). With comparative peace, population grew. Stephen Atte Hille had two sons; Henry took his father's land, and Walter was employed by the lord to look after another holding. Later on, Walter became a day-labourer. He lived in a little cottage, with a garden.

He may have kept pigs and poultry, but he must have bought grain. He earned his living, almost certainly, as a day-labourer does now, sometimes doing a day's work for Robert Cheval, sometimes for the cellarer's bailiff. Probably, when he was young, he worked as a farm servant and lived in the manor house, getting 3*s*. 4*d*. to 5*s*. a year and his board. Walter Atte Hille represented a new type in the village—the day-labourer, a villein born, but landless. Little by little bailiffs lost sight of these landless men, and forgot to take their best possession when they died, or to charge them for the marriage of their daughters. The day-labourer became "free" far more easily than his prosperous elder brother who held villein land.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
S. O. Addy ..	The Evolution of the English House. [Social England Ser.]	*Swan Sonnenschein & Co.*
W. Ashley ..	An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory	*Longmans & Co.*
A. E. Bland & R. Tawney.	Select Documents Illustrating English Economic History	*G. Bell & Sons.*
F. Bond ..	Wood Carvings in English Churches, vol. i., Misericords	*Henry Frowde (Oxford University Press).*
D. C. Calthrop ..	English Costume	*A. & C. Black.*
G. Chaucer ..	Canterbury Tales. [Prologue and Nun's Priests' Tale.] Editor: W. Skeat	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
G. Clinch	English Costume	*Methuen.*
E. L. Cutts ..	Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages.	*De la More Press.*
Everyman Series	English Miracle Plays	*J. M. Dent.*
W. Fowler ..	Kingham	*B. Blackwell, Oxford.*
J. A. Gotch ..	The Growth of the English House	*B. T. Batsford.*
F. W. Maitland	The Court Baron. [Selden Society.]	—
E. C. Pulbrook ..	The English Countryside ..	*B. T. Batsford.*
M. & C. Quennell	History of Everyday Things ..	„ „

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
F. S. Robinson ..	English Furniture	*Methuen.*
C. Sharp	The Morris Book	*Novello & Co.*
H. B. Traill ..	Social England	*Cassell & Co.*
J. Strutt ..	The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England	*Methuen.*
P. Vinogradoff ..	The Growth of the Manor ..	*Swan Sonnenschein & Co.*
Walter of Henley	Husbandry. [Royal Historical Society.] Editor: E. Lamond	*B. T. Batsford.*

See also, Old English Cottages and Farmhouses. [Various Counties.]

CHAPTER II

THE BLACK DEATH AND THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

THE main causes of the Peasants' Revolt lie as far back as 1348–9.

In spring, 1348, travellers brought to England news of a pestilence. It was raging, they said, in Italy, and even in France. In August a traveller landed, perhaps at Weymouth, and brought the Plague with him. About a fortnight later, men died of it in Bristol. It reached Bodmin about Christmas, 1348. Eastwards, it spread through Gloucester and Oxford to London (September or October, 1348). It was at its height in Southern England from February to August, 1349. At the end of March it crept into Suffolk. It raged in East Anglia in June, July, and August. In Yorkshire it appeared about Easter, 1349. In the autumn it crossed the border. Checked by a cold winter, it was worst in Scotland in 1350. Wales suffered—whether in 1349 or 1350 is not certain. Ireland was attacked late in 1348, and devastated in 1349.[1]

Standon was a little town in Hertfordshire. Many craftsmen and many farmers lived there, of whom some were freeholders, some villeins. The lady of the manor was Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Earl Gilbert, of Gloucester. Her manor courts [2] were held regularly, and in February, 1349, everything

[1] *To estimate the total loss of life is impossible, for all calculations are based on incomplete and uncertain figures. All we know is, that the Plague altered economic life, wherever its effects can actually be studied.*

[2] *See Chap. I.*

was as usual. But at the first court held in March the tenants reported nine deaths in the last three weeks. At the next court, three weeks later, the list of the dead included Ellen Garlicmonger, Katharine Goldring, Nicholas the Tailor, Emma William, Reginald le Woop, John Leukenor, Walter the Cooper, William and Benedict Koot, John Alford, Simon Appulton, and Matilda Peverel. The heir of Matilda was Simon's little boy, perhaps her grandson. John Cuckoo, a dead freeholder, left a little son under age. John Attwood "left no heir"; probably all his family had perished. Three weeks later the Plague was raging among the craftsmen. Thomas the Spicer, Robert the Tanner, Richard the Dyer, Roger Smith, Thomas Tailor, and William Tylor, were all dead. Many villeins were gone. Ordinary life was giving way. At the court cases were dropped, because plaintiff or defendant was dead. The ale-tasters had not done their work. But even in the worst time the bailiff tried to get his lady's dues. When villeins died he went and took their "heriot"; that is, even when a villein family was stricken and the father was lying dead in the house, he went down and chose Simon Appulton's best cow, and John Alford's best horse, and led them away to the lady's pastures. Some families paid a heriot twice within a short time. Perhaps it was this that embittered villeins of the next generation so much against the payment of heriot. Not until the end of August was the Plague spent. It was harvest time. The owners of many holdings were dead; all those holdings were "in the Lady's hand." No heirs came forward to claim some of them. Hence arose a difficulty. When the bailiff looked across the harvest field he saw strip after strip which had belonged to tenants, and now had no one to work them. Now, he would have to see to the reaping. On the 200 acres of the demesne tenants had always reaped and raked the

lady's grain. Now, not only were there fewer tenants, but the bailiff had to fine thirty-two people, who did not come with scythe and sickle to work "as they had always done." The fine came to 13*s.* 4*d.*; the bailiff could spend the money in hiring labourers. But that was difficult. So many of the brothers and sons of villeins, the men who had been labourers, were dead. Every one was trying to engage the survivors. The bailiff had been used to pay 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day; now he could hardly get men for 4*d.* or 5*d.* Still, the harvest had to be got in.

After harvest came a second great difficulty—the autumn ploughing, and this could not be done unless all tenants sent all their ploughs and oxen, as in past years. But many houses and stables were empty. The lady must either buy many oxen and some new ploughs and hire ploughman, or, more economically, find fresh tenants. The bailiff tried to find them. Many households had lost all their men; others had lost the father, and could not farm as they had done. Evidently the bailiff was unsuccessful, and gave up the attempt. Some years later there were only six villein tenants in Standon. Probably, the lady let the whole demesne, together with the old empty tenements, to one man, and the new tenant worked with hired labourers. Besides, the bailiff of Standon began to let old villein lands for money rents only.[1] So he no longer counted their tenants among the villeins. Such was the ultimate effect of the Black Death in many places.

On other manors, for years past, villeins had been trying to get more land. For instance, on some manors in Hertfordshire, belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, they had done so. For London was only thirty miles away, and needed much corn. So even little farmers in Hertfordshire had always been able

[1] *There was no revolt in Standon in* 1381.

to sell their corn, and they had prospered. Now the survivors took new holdings. Often they did so on new terms. They bargained to work for the lord only in harvest, and to pay "for all other service." The bailiff granted this; then these villeins were almost like free men; they could work for themselves daily except in harvest. Only merchet, heriot, and restrictions on selling the land, still burdened them.

But sometimes new tenants took the old holdings on the old terms exactly. Then agriculture on the old plan became possible again. Even this situation brought a difficulty with it. Before the Black Death, on many manors, bailiffs had "commuted" labour services, sometimes even including harvest work.[1] They took work, or took money, as suited them at the moment. But now the bailiff tried to stipulate for actual work when he was letting the lands. He refused money (because labour was so difficult to get) and demanded work, from the very man perhaps with whom formerly he had arranged commutation year by year.

In one manor it was commutation which caused discontent, in another heriot. There was grumbling by cottage hearths and on country ale benches for thirty years.

The Black Death left another problem—the problem of labour. About May and June, 1349, the few labourers asked high wages. Food was scarce and dear. In the next year, and the next, they still asked for the new, high wages. In Burnham, a little Essex village, Robert Toterege, and John Beregh, and Thomas Sare, all refused day-labouring jobs unless they got double the old daily wage. At Tillingham, another Essex labourer, Thomas Morman, got 9*d.* an acre for reaping. The old price was about 4*d.* His harvest earnings were about 20*s.* more than in 1348. In June, 1349, the King and his Council made an ordinance. No disengaged labourer or artizan

[1] *See Chap. I.*

might refuse an offer of work at the wages usual between 1344 and 1348. No master might offer higher pay. When Parliament met in February, 1351, the Commons made a standard scale of wages [1] for every kind of labour, and for every craft, based on the wages paid in 1348 and the few years before. As the members were burgesses and country lords of manors, they were qualified to do this. Then they invented a means of enforcing this scale. When passed by Lords and sanctioned by the King this bill became the celebrated Statute of Labourers. In every county local gentlemen were appointed to sit as justices four times a year, in March, July, September, and December. The gentlemen worked in groups, each group looking after the district in which its members lived. The districts were small. The justices could keep in touch with all the villages. From each village men were obliged to come and report breaches of the statute. The justices did actually sit. For instance, in the spring of 1352 the justices were sitting in a part of Essex. The men of Tillingham accused Thomas Morman, and he was brought before the justices. The accusers told the story of his harvest earnings. Probably he paid his 20*s.* back as a fine. Again, on a manor near Guildford, all the fourteen farm servants had asked and obtained wages higher than the statute rate. Ten were fined; the carter and three others were not fined, "because they were poor."

But it was not only wages that the King dealt with. There was to be no profiteering. In June, 1349, the King and his Council dealt also with prices, both of food and goods. Butchers and vendors of food were to sell "at reasonable prices." Artizans were to sell at the prices charged in 1344–8. The Commons repeated these words in 1351. And the justices

[1] E.g., *Reapers of corn, 2d. or 3d. a day; mowers of hay, 5d. an acre; master carpenters, 3d. a day.*

punished breaches of this clause as fully as breaches of the wage-clauses. If an artizan sold a pair of shoes above the price of 1348, and was accused and convicted, the justices fined him. If wages were to be kept down so were prices. Both King and Parliament acted on behalf of the ordinary buyer of goods, as well as the employer of labour. Thus something new began. Newly-appointed justices were holding new sessions quarterly. They did not keep wages down; probably wages rose permanently; but they provided a way of rating wages. It is true wages were fixed by the words of the statute, and consequently no man might give more or less than the sum named in the Act, whatever the local scarcity, nor less, whatever the plenty. In 1389, however, the law was altered, and the new way allowed wages and prices to differ in different places. The justices were to fix the rate of wages for their own little districts, and they were to do this at Easter, and again at Michaelmas. They were to base the rate of wages upon the "usual wage," and also on the price of food. They were to allow the victuallers a "reasonable" profit on food, and no more. This plan allowed each district to have its own scale. It worked apparently so well that it lasted unaltered into Tudor times.

Meanwhile, in the towns grievances were arising. St. Albans [1] illustrates the troubles of some towns belonging to monasteries. Beverley [2] illustrates the troubles of growing boroughs. Other difficulties, too, existed in the greater cities. In London, masters were preventing journeymen from becoming masters easily, and from having journeymen's societies.[3] In London, moreover, the greater crafts were monopolising city offices, to the wrath of the lesser crafts. The greater crafts were struggling among themselves for supremacy. Thus, in 1377, among aldermen and common

[1] *See Chap. III.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *See Chap. IV.*

councillors there were more members of victuallers' crafts [1] than of any others. In 1380 they were still supreme, and William Walworth, a fishmonger, was mayor elect. Within each gild, also, there were violent rivals, such as Walworth himself, and Alderman John Horn, among the fishmongers.

For years, too, men had heard the Friars preaching the Holiness of Poverty, and the duty of giving all to the poor, as St. Francis had done. John Ball, a "mad priest," had evidently been excited beyond bounds by such teaching. Since 1366, at least, he had taught the equality of all men. He had been in trouble because of this. No doubt many poor men who had listened to the Friars talked about all men having equal worth and equal right to good things. In 1382 the Friars were actually accused of having caused the revolt. At that time no one ever accused Wycliffe of this. Nor was there any revolt in the districts where his influence was really strong.

In the twenty years after the Black Death, towns-people and country-people grumbled about their own affairs, but public affairs were going well. But in the last years of Edward III., and after he died, the French war was disastrous, and taxation extraordinarily heavy. For all this people blamed John of Gaunt, the real governor of England. So much did they hate him for his support of the King's bad ministers that in 1377 the Londoners actually attacked his house, the Savoy, a mile outside Ludgate. Their hatred and distrust extended to each of the King's servants, especially those concerned with taxation. In 1380 this feeling was strongest against the Treasurer, who controlled the spending of taxes, and Archbishop Sudbury, the Lord Chancellor.[2] In that year Parliament granted a "Poll" tax—a tax of 1*s.* on the head of each lay person above

[1] *Grocers, vintners, fishmongers.*
[2] *The Chancellor asked for taxes in Parliament.*

fifteen years old. Early in 1381 collectors visited each place. Twelve natives swore to tell the truth, and then said how many "heads" lived in the place; the collectors named the sum of shillings to be provided, and the sum was shared out. For example, a rich man might pay 6*s.* for himself and his wife. Then a poor man might get off with 4*d.* If there were no wealthy people, poor men, one and all, had to pay 1*s.* The result of this unfair method was that most places sent in false returns, reducing their numbers. In Essex and in Suffolk the falsification was greatest. The King's Council sent commissioners to find out why the tax brought in so little. On May 30, 1381, one commissioner examined the men of Fobbing and Corringham, two little Essex villages. The men of Fobbing said that they had paid, and they would not pay again. There was a riot. The revolt had begun. By June 2, throughout Essex and Kent, men were going into manor houses, burning court rolls, beating lawyers, chasing justices. Essex men crossed over the Thames, and spoke with Kentish rebels. The Kentish men found a leader on June 7. He was Wat Tyler. He was an old soldier, discharged after long service in France.[1] He had seen towns taken and plundered. He had, perhaps, lived by robbery since his discharge, but he could enforce discipline. Now, he made his men march on London. On Wednesday evening (June 12) the Kentish men were climbing Blackheath Hill, the Essex men were marching through West Ham towards Mile End. Within the walls of London were two great authorities—the Mayor, Walworth, at the Guildhall, and King Richard himself, in the Tower. With him was his Council, including the Archbishop and the Treasurer.[2] At the same hour both Mayor and Aldermen, and King and Council, were assembled in great

[1] *Most probably.*
[2] *John of Gaunt was far away in the North.*

At Mile End, a long, noisy, disturbed interview took place. Tyler told the King what the villeins wanted. Villeins actually spoke to him. The men of St. Albans pushed their way forward, and their leader, on his knees before Richard, begged and begged for privileges for the town. Richard had to grant all requests. He caused his clerks to write charters—

"Richard, by God's grace King of England and France, to all . . . his faithful subjects . . . greeting. Know . . . that we have made free all our . . . subjects of the County of Hertford,[1] and have freed all and each of them from villeinage, . . . and we have pardoned them for all transgressions."

But men were to pay 4*d*. a year to their lords for each acre of land, "for all service." As the countrymen obtained their charters they trudged off. This put the King into greater danger. For Tyler meant apparently to occupy London with his remaining men. He meant to treat London as he had seen French towns treated. He said, "I will shave my enemies beards." Another fact also made the King's danger greater: the rebels had got into the Tower. They had killed the Archbishop and the Treasurer. That night, the King slept in an unfortified house near St. Paul's. Hardly a stone's throw away, in Cheapside, the rebels had put blocks in the streets, and were beheading men. Richard sent to Tyler: "As you have not gone home you must have something more to ask." He would hear Tyler's demands next day, in Smithfield. Very early (Saturday, June 15) the King rode to Westminster, past the ruined Savoy, confessed, and was absolved. When Richard and his men drew rein before the gateway of St. Bartholomew's Priory they saw what danger they were in. Opposite them Tyler's men were drawn up as for battle, each man with his bow and bundle of arrows. The range was short. The King's men (about 200) made a compact mark. Followed by a man bearing a banner, Tyler rode across the open space. He

[1] *Or some other county.*

dismounted, and bowed, and then shook the King's hand heartily. Then those two began to talk. Tyler's men could hear nothing. Presently he sent back a message to them; he wanted a pot of beer. They saw him drink it, and mount again, and then, suddenly, push in among the King's followers. Behind the King there was some struggling; Tyler reappeared riding back. Halfway across he cried hoarsely, "Treason!" Next moment he fell to the ground.[1]

Tyler's men were stringing their bows hastily. No English king was ever nearer death in battle than Richard then. He moved his horse at a canter straight towards the rebels. Throwing up his right hand, he called out, "Sirs, will you shoot your King? I will be your captain! And you shall have from me that which you seek. Follow me!" The men heard. He turned his horse at a walk towards the wheat-fields. One by one, and then in a mass, the rebels followed him. For an hour Richard was practically alone among them. Then the Mayor and certain knights led out the citizens in arms and surrounded the rebels. Richard caused proclamation to be made, that all might depart, and the rebels broke up. In and around London the revolt was over; but it was not over everywhere.

The Hertfordshire men had walked back on Friday. On Saturday, while Tyler was at Smithfield, the townsmen of St. Albans were breaking down the abbot's fences round fields, and pulling down his houses, and burning the monks' charters. On Sunday the abbot granted the townsmen leave to hold their own court and govern themselves. From Saturday (June 16) to Thursday (June 20) in came the abbey tenants,

[1] *Tyler had heard a servant say, "I know that fellow—he is the greatest robber in the country." Tyler rode at him; Walworth got between; Tyler thrust at him with a dagger. Walworth cut him deep in the shoulder. Then a squire stabbed him twice.*

from Berkhampstead, Watford, Rickmansworth—from thirty-two places in all; each with special demands to make. The men of Rickmansworth asked that they might give or sell their lands when they wanted to. Villeins might not do so, but now they wanted to be like freemen in all things. The men of Redbourne wanted to hunt rabbits in the abbot's warren, and to fish in his private stream, and to pasture their beasts in Prior's meadow. Indeed, over the south-east of England, beside the general desire for freedom and free land, each place had its own grievances. In Cambridgeshire and Eastern Norfolk the rebels made no considered demands at all. They simply plundered.

The extension of the revolt was gradual. In Suffolk it began on June 13 and lasted until June 23. Round Norwich it began on June 14 and lasted until June 24. Further north the outbreaks were later. The suppression, after Tyler's death, was rapid. Walworth restored order in London. The Bishop of Norwich restored order in Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Norfolk, and the Earl of Suffolk in Suffolk. The King marched through Essex, and his troops fought one sharp engagement at Billericay. Sheriffs and country gentry restored order elsewhere. Resistance was over.[1] Arrests began. On July 2 the King revoked all grants made to the rebels. Yet the punishment was not so severe as to terrify the rebels. Judges were sent out into the counties. We know of 110 men who were hanged, but this list is incomplete. In Hertfordshire fifteen men were hanged and eighty imprisoned. Considering the numbers in revolt, and considering, too, mediæval standards of punishment, we cannot call this very excessive. In November, 1381, there was a general amnesty; 287 men were excepted, but they

[1] *The suppression was not very thorough. For instance, the Kent disturbances went on in the autumn.*

were not executed. One after another (including even Alderman Horn and the murderers of the Treasurer), they were pardoned. Little by little the excitement died down. Men went back to live under their familiar grievances.

In the revolt the labourers, the towns, and the country people had played a part. Individual justices were maltreated, doubtless by labourers, but labourers made no general outcry against the Statute of Labourers at all. The towns had each its own reason for rising, as we have seen at St. Albans and Beverley. York and Scarborough resembled Beverley, Dunstable and Bury St. Edmund's resembled St. Albans. The reason lay far back in the history of the towns. Nor did the revolt end the struggles of York or of St. Albans. In just the same way the revolt was not an isolated episode in the history of the rebel villages. The demands made were not new ones. Every manor had old grievances. Many manors unaffected in 1381 had some little peasants' revolt before or after. But in 1381 mismanagement of the poll tax gave a general call; villeins found themselves rioting and asked themselves what for? Out of their mouths came the grievances under which they had grown up.

On the main question of villeinage the revolt had no effect, and personal villein dues—merchet and heriot—and villein services on land lasted on. Yet by the end of the 15th century many villeins had obtained freedom from these things. They obtained it slowly in the following ways:—

Bailiffs found that a labourer did more in a day than a villein. When labourers' wages were fixed in a satisfactory way bailiffs gradually took to accepting money rents from villeins. In some places lords were extending their arable farming in response to some local demand for food; such lords needed money more than villein labour. In other places lords were extending sheep farming in response to the

growing demand for wool. For such farming villein labour was not needed. By innumerable little arrangements, in hundreds of villages, at different times, the lord accepted money instead of week work, or merchet, or heriot, or even harvest work. It was this bargaining, and not the Peasants' Revolt, which gradually altered the villeins' condition. Yet the revolt has an immense importance. We can see what the common people in country and town really desired. There is no other statement so clear and authentic. The more thoroughly one studies the men who rebelled, and their demands, the more closely does one come into contact with the real common folk.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
C. Creighton	.. History of Epidemics in England	*Cambridge University Press.*
A. Jessopp	.. The Coming of the Friars ..	*T. F. Unwin.*
H. B. Traill	.. Social England	*Cassell & Co.*
C. Oman	.. The Great Revolt of 1381 ..	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*

CHAPTER III

LIFE IN THE BOROUGH

At the present day the villages of England are less important than the towns. The larger part of the population, by far, live in towns. But in the 14th century the greater part, by far, lived in villages. In fact, men used the word "Town" for what we should call a village. Long before the 14th century, however, certain places had grown bigger and more important than the rest. Such places usually became "Boroughs," or, as we should say now, "Towns." These "Boroughs" were very unlike modern towns.

Like other places, most boroughs had belonged to a lord since 1066. But step by step a borough had won from its lord certain rights, for instance, the right to adminster justice, or to take tolls. Beverley, the greatest borough in the East Riding of Yorkshire, belonged to the Archbishop of York. Approaching Beverley from the north along the highway the traveller came to a boundary stone, when he was still so far away from the town that he could only see its church towers in the distance. The stone marked the beginning of the borough land. West of the road lay Westwood, 600 acres of grassy pasture, stretching uphill, broken by chalk-pits overhung with thickets. Oxen—many of them craftsmen's cart oxen—and horses—some merchant's pack-horses—were grazing. The borough herdsman lay on his back whistling, and the burgesses' pigs grunted under the trees. East of the road the town

owned Swinemoor, Grovehill, and Feegang. On Feegang cows fed, and on Swinemoor oxen and heifers and horses and pigs. The town was surrounded by its own pastures. Much earlier, boroughs had had three arable fields, and burgesses had grown their own food, but the arable fields of Beverley

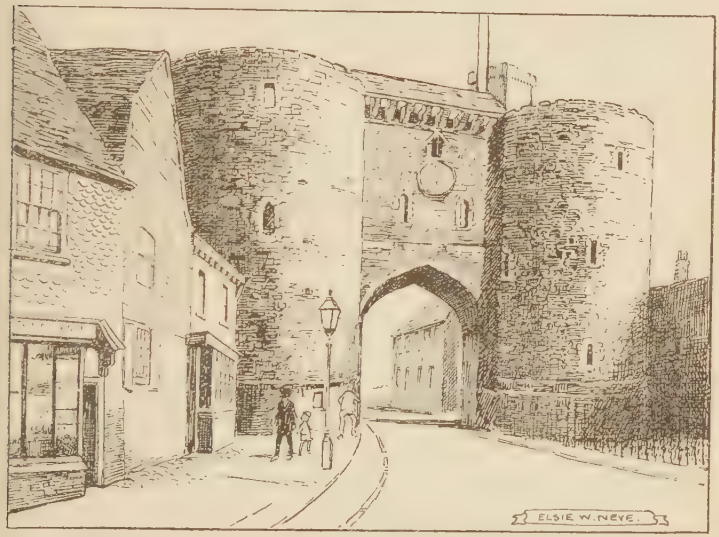


FIG. 7.—The Landgate, Rye, as it is to-day.

Built about 1360 by the citizens. This gate has loopholes for arrows and a groove for a portcullis. It survived the burning of much of the town by the French in 1378 and 1448.

and of many boroughs had long been forgotten. Most burgesses bought grain, and some meat as well, in the market.

As the traveller walked on, the town ditch, and wall, and the North Bar (or gate) came in sight. The wall was only a badly-kept earth bank, for the townsmen only repaired it when Scots came raiding southwards. But the North Bar was of stone, and still stands. It is a large arched gateway. It has a room above the gate, and there are battlements at

the top. At York the walls were of stone, and they still stand. They are wide; there is a walk behind the battlements. At intervals stand four massive gates—Bootham Bar, Micklegate, Monkgate, and Layrthorpe. Such gates were usually flanked with a tower at each side. Beside the tower a staircase led on to the wall. The town ditch was spanned by a wooden drawbridge, worked from the town side. In the gateway-arch was the portcullis, drawn up, in time of peace, into a groove in the stonework. The porter lodged in the ground floor of the tower, beside the gate. Above the arch was a room sometimes let for a dwelling or shop, sometimes used as a town prison.[1] The gate itself was of solid oak, with iron bars across the back, or even a sheet of iron or lead covered with planks. The porter opened this great clanging, creaking gate at dawn, and shut it at sundown. At such a gate at York, at Beverley, and elsewhere, the porter was busy all day long. He saw that no stranger brought in goods without paying toll. He took the toll money, and paid it, at Beverley, to the town officials. Far back, under Henry I., the Archbishop had given the townspeople of Beverley the right to have the toll money. No doubt they paid him for this gift.

Within Beverley North Bar the road ran southwards through the town. It passed St. Mary's Church and the "Saturday market-place," both to the left; passed the turning to the "Wednesday market," and led out of the town past the minster, through Keldgate. Along this main street, and a few others, the houses stood thickly, but within the town wall were many open spaces, many gardens and paddocks, many grounds where the cloth-makers stretched long scarlet cloths. In the streets some

[1] *As at Ludgate and Newgate, London; Northgate, Oxford; Westgate, Canterbury. Chaucer lived in rooms above Aldgate, London.*

houses stood back, others forward. Most had an upper storey, and this storey projected, so that sometimes opposite houses almost touched. Passengers were sheltered from showers; but ground floor rooms were often dark. From each house a sign jutted out—the Swan on the Hoop, or the Chequers. These signs served as distinguishing marks, instead of numbers. Before each house was a trestle table, or a board let down by hinges from the wall; on board or table were displayed outside the goods made within. The apprentices stood beside them; they watched the goods, called out to people to buy them, bargained, and chaffed. In the house wall, level with the ground, was a dark opening; stone steps or a ladder led down into the great cellar, often vaulted, half-underground. Being stone-built it gave a good foundation for the house, which was usually built of timber and plaster. It was the storehouse. The apprentice dived down into it sometimes from the street; more often he skipped up the steps leading to the house door to fetch his master. The house door opened into the "shop," which was shop and workroom, too. The master journeymen and apprentices were all sitting there, making boots, perhaps, or weaving cloth. Behind was the living-room, the "hall," and also the kitchen and bake-house, where the good wife cooked, made, and mended for all. From the hall a ladder led up to the "solar," above it. This was the master's bedroom and sitting-room. The men and apprentices slept in the "hall" and the shop. If there was a second storey it was made up of attics where stores were kept. The cowshed and pigstye stood right out behind the house.

In 14th-century Beverley (as in most other towns) some townsmen were growing much richer than their neighbours. The Coppandales were, and the Tyrwhitts. Such men built high houses, and their neighbours said they shut out light and air from others. A prosperous mason of Beverley lived

in a typical better-class house about 1440. He had a hall, and beyond it a buttery full of loaves, beef, and beer barrels ;

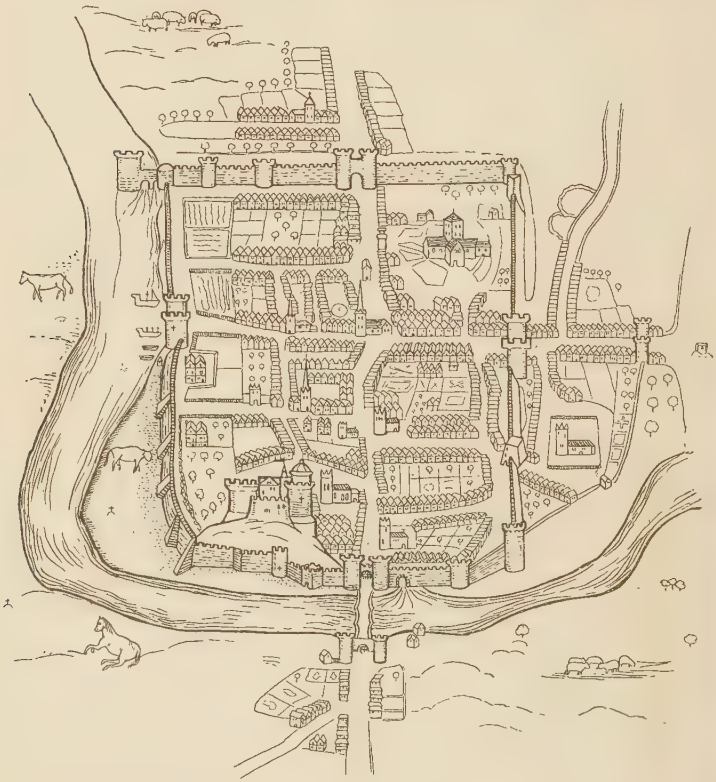


FIG. 8.—The City of Chester in 1573.

This view shows the walls and gates with their towers, the castle, the great monastery, and the market-place outside the abbey gates in the street leading to the north gate. It shows, too, pastures outside the walls and the suburbs growing up.

next was the kitchen, brewhouse, and malthouse. He had a "parlour," but his wife kept all sorts of kitchen things in it. Above his hall the mason had a chamber. A goldsmith

of York even had two chambers above his hall—perhaps the old "Solar" partitioned. Such burgesses had good furniture. The mason had in his hall a large trestle-table painted black and gray, with a painted pattern of roses. He and his wife each had an armchair, and there were four stools. Along the walls stood a long bench and a little one, both covered with red and green cloth. The walls were hung with stuff. This mason had various silver dishes. He even had five English books. The York goldsmith had a pretty "Great Chamber." His fourposter was hung with blue, and spread with mattress and bolster, feather-bed, sheets, and blankets. On the wall hung a cloth painted with the Virgin mourning over Christ. In a barrel lay his steel cap and leather coat. There was a large chest full of linen, and a little chest, probably his money-box. There were one or two little benches covered with red and green stuff. There was a second little low bed, perhaps for his two little sons. Behind, towards the garden, was the cowshed and pigstye. Doubtless the garden was planted with cabbages and lettuces, radishes, thyme, and sage; perhaps there was a little orchard where the master's sheep grazed under the apple and pear trees. The Beverley burgesses turned their sheep into the grassy lanes within the town (as well as the pastures). Unlike many boroughs, Beverley did not allow burgesses to turn their pigs into the streets.

Like all boroughs, Beverley was full of merchants and craftsmen. Each craft tended to live together. "Butchers' Row" was full of butchers' houses. The Fullers (or "Walkers") lived in Walkergate. In one street J. Locksmith, J. Waynsmith, and R. Bladesmith lived side by side.

The heart of the borough was the market-place. The "Saturday market" was an open space of about four acres. In the midst stood the market cross. East of it was a

detached group of stone buildings, called "the Dings." [1] In the "Dings" were shops, let by the borough to its leading merchants. The great drapers sold cloth in them on market days. At the southern end of the market were corndealers' stalls. Farmers hired them, and came and sold there on market day. Butchers' stalls were in the south-east corner, fishmongers' behind the "Dings." At Beverley the elected town officials managed the market. It was they who decided that the market bell should ring at eight, to open it, and at noon, to end it. It was they who paid labourers to rake away the deep accumulations of muck. It was they who received all tolls from strangers, and rents from burgesses and strangers for stalls.

FIG. 9. — A Market Woman.

(*From an illumination of the 15th century.*)

Soon after dawn on Saturday the town craftsmen came out with the canvas coverings of their stalls, and with their wares—scarlet cloth, nails, shoes, leather, coverlets. Being burgesses, they had no tolls to pay. Quite early there was a crowd outside the bars; all the country folk, and a few merchants from other towns, were waiting to pay toll—1*d.* on a cartload of corn, 4*d.* on a sack of wool, 4*d.* on a cartload of Swedish iron (perhaps from Hull), 1*d.* on 1000 Grimsby herrings. They all wanted to be ready when the bell went and the first throng of buyers gathered round the stalls.

While the market-place resounded, the other streets were very quiet. Neither in them nor in any place for a fixed distance round the town, was any buying or selling allowed on market day. We buy anywhere at any time, and so the old arrangement is hard to imagine; but, then, there was great

[1] *Dings = thing, an old Danish word for Assembly. The town assembly had apparently always been held there.*

reason for it. The rule came down from Saxon times, when it was comparatively unusual to buy a thing instead of making it. In Saxon times, if a man had a thing made by another he was more likely to have stolen it than to have bought it. He might be held guilty of theft, unless he could find men to swear that he was innocent. Sales had to take place before really trustworthy witnesses, in a definite place, and on a definite day. These places were the boroughs; those days, their market days. Even in the 14th century this old rule was still in force on market days. Not only was the market-place the only lawful trading place on market days, but the burgesses were the only people to whom outsiders might sell, or from whom outsiders might buy. Burgesses had this right, under the old customs, and naturally they liked to keep it, as they made money by it. But in the 13th and 14th centuries these old rules were being broken in all boroughs continually. For instance, people would trade outside the market-place. At Beverley John Ostiller had a regular agreement with a fisherman. On market day Ostiller used to go sometimes to one little place on the river, sometimes to another, meet the fisherman, get the fish, bring them to Beverley himself, and sell them in the market. Thus Ostiller prevented the man from offering his fish to all burgesses in open market. He wronged them. This was an offence, punishable by fine. It was called Forestalling.[1] But when the rules were fairly firmly enforced, the burgesses had a very privileged position in the market.

The second great privilege of a borough was the right of self-government[2]—the right of the burgesses to hold their own

[1] *To buy in one part of the market and sell in another was also an offence, called Re-grating. It was wrong because it raised the price at the second sale.*

[2] *Lords could buy from the King the right to set up a market in a village, but this did not make the village a borough.*

assembly, to choose their officials, and to manage their own money. Borough self-government centred round the "Gildhall" in the "Dings" at Beverley, in other towns round the "Courthouse" or "Moothall." At Winchelsea (Sussex) the courthouse is a stone building of one storey. The street door opens into an oblong hall, lit by three windows at the tower end; a heavy door leads into a little courtyard, from which there is a stone staircase to the upper chamber. This is oblong, with a timber roof, and three windows, with coats-of-arms in the upper part. On the dais an old chest still stands full of the old borough records. Perhaps Beverley Gildhall was similar. It certainly had a dais, on which stood a table covered with a green cloth with red fringes. Behind it was a long bench on which the officials sat. Every Monday, at eight, the bell above the gildhall pealed; some of the burgesses (though not nearly all, for some were too busy with their own affairs) picked their way across the cobbles to go to court.

Now these "burgesses" were very important. They were not all men who lived in Beverley; they were those only who had the rights of townsmen. For example, the burgess of Beverley (and he only) might put his horse on Westwood and his cow on Feegang. He might enter the town with goods toll free. He helped to make bye-laws and rates, at court, and to decide cases and judge in criminal cases. He played his part in the Town Pageant that went through the town on Corpus Christi Day. He (and he only) might carry on his craft in Beverley.

Certain burgesses of Beverley lived in ancient houses, which had always carried with them the right of burgess-ship. But in the 14th century there were two other ways of obtaining burgess-ship. One was apprenticeship. A man who had been apprenticed to a burgess could claim to be a burgess; he became a burgess as soon as he became a master in his craft

gild. The other was purchase. But a man could only buy the right if he was really living in the town. In whatever way he was qualified, the burgess-elect had to come to court to be accepted by the other burgesses, to pay his fee, and swear—

"This swear I, Adam Coppandale, that I am a free man, and that I will be true to the Community of Beverley, and that I will keep the counsel of the town, and of the Gildhall; and I will be obedient to the 12 keepers, . . . I will put no beasts on the pastures but my own . . . and I will observe the customs of the Town."

Then he laid one hand on the Gospels, lifted up the other, and said—

"So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God."

It was the burgess who knew the customs of the town. So his presence at the weekly court was necessary; for there quarrels between burgess and burgess, or burgess and outsider, were decided according to town custom. So, too, were lesser criminal cases, and cases where borough bye-laws had been broken—bye-laws which had been made in court by the burgesses. But most of all was the burgess' attendance necessary when the town officials were chosen.

Different boroughs had different officials. At Beverley the officials were the "Twelve Keepers."[1] On St. Mark's Day (April 25) the Gildhall bell began to peal at eight. All the burgesses had been specially reminded to come, by the town servant or "serjeant." Many did come, but not all. They hurried in; a "keeper" struck three blows on the table with a hammer, and he who came in after the third blow was fined.

In 1345, the outgoing keepers included Adam Tirwhitt and Robert Shirburn, two of the richest drapers in Beverley. These two were typical of the keepers chosen for years before and after 1345. The keepers now did their last

[1] *Earlier, the officials had been an alderman and two chamberlains. The townsman had not forgotten this.*

duty. They named eighteen burgesses, and from these eighteen all the burgesses present chose their new keepers. They chose the son of Adam Tirwhitt, Adam Coppandale (the richest wool dealer in Beverley), Peter Lumbard (a goldsmith and wool dealer), and other men of like standing. Each new keeper took oath—

"Thus swear I: I will keep the town of Beverley with all my mind and power, no man by reason of . . . kin or friendship sparing, . . . no man . . . by reason of hatred grieving. I will be faithful to the Community, and will keep secret its counsel. . . . So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God."

Then the keepers shared out burdensome duties among themselves: two were to be surveyors of pavements, two were to be surveyors of pastures, some were to oversee all town property, such as the gildhall, two or three or six were to see that all ale sold in the town was of due quality, and all bread of due weight. Last year's keepers had done well; the main streets had been repaved with cobbles and white stone, fresh ditches had been dug on Westwood, market stalls had been repaired.

The keepers had to bring forward all town business in the Monday court, before the burgesses. But Monday after Monday only a few burgesses were there, for some were lazy and some hard at work. Even when the keepers wanted to propose a new bye-law, and sent the serjeant round specially, they could not always get a good meeting. So, often, the keepers had to do things by themselves. For instance, it was they who chose the town shepherd. Thus the "lesser men" took rather a small share in town government. This stage was reached in all the larger boroughs, such as York, Leicester, Norwich, at different times in the 14th and 15th centuries. Only in small boroughs, such as Liverpool, did all the burgesses assemble fairly often.

As the 14th century passed there was a change, which

made lesser men discontented with this state of things. The wool trade in Yorkshire was increasing. By 1338 there were men in Beverley who had £500 worth of wool at one time in Hull warehouses. Such men began to use silver at table: they had many gowns; they founded chantries. Whether there were definite complaints against their actions as "keepers" we do not know. But the lesser men began to grumble as year by year Coppandale succeeded Tirwhitt, and Beverley succeeded Acre, as keepers. In 1355 rioters broke up the assembly on St. Mark's Day. Yet in 1356, and for twenty years after, the same men as before alternated in office. But all this time the grumblers were saying that the keepers' acts were "illegal." They were suggesting that "lesser men" ought to hold office; that an alderman and two chamberlains ought to be chosen, as of old. On St. Mark's Day, 1381, some burgesses burst into the Gildhall. They took the town seal, the town records, the town treasure (£20). Yet other burgesses elected Thomas Beverley, one of the rich old wool dealers, and probably others to be keepers. Thomas Beverley tried to act. Apparently he tried to gather the poll tax in June. But the other party chose officials—Richard Middleton, a draper, as alderman; Thomas White and Henry of Newark, as chamberlains. They brought in again the older method of government by chamberlains and alderman. Such was the state of Beverley when news came of the peasants' revolt. To the men of Beverley, the revolt was only an incident in a struggle actually going on. So, too, it was at St. Albans,[1] York, and Scarborough. The men of Beverley took their weapons, went to the houses of their former "keepers," and made those rich

[1] *St. Albans men claimed that their town ought to be counted as a borough. The Abbot of St. Albans, their lord, refused to grant them any self-government. They gave him trouble in* 1274, 1326-7, 1341, 1353, 1358, 1381, *and* 1434.

men promise them money. And government by alderman and chamberlains went on, in 1381, 1382, 1385, 1386. Then, probably, the burgesses had ceased to attend the assemblies regularly. They had probably found that inexperienced men did badly in office. By 1388 twelve keepers, headed by a Coppandale, were in office again.

These troubles arose from the growth of the town, and the loss of the old, rough equality. Not only Beverley, but many other boroughs suffered from this cause. At Beverley a remedy was found. The keepers got their predecessors in office of the last two years to attend each court. These men were rich and elderly, and could spare the time. Thus a body of twenty-four was always there to advise the keepers. But this body did not represent the "lesser men." Therefore the keepers got the wardens of the craft gilds and their chief members to come also, not perhaps weekly, but to all meetings where important matters were to be discussed.[1] The craftsmen were apparently satisfied. Of course, all burgesses could still come. During the 15th century the merchants ruled the town fairly peacefully.

In many ways Beverley is typical: in its self-government, its market, its borough court, its relation to the peasants' revolt, its difficulties as it grew large, its quarrels, its riches. All these could be paralleled in town after town.

The "twelve keepers" are unlike the Mayor and Aldermen of York or Leicester. This difference illustrates an important truth. Each borough has its own history. No general account fits all boroughs. Each borough deserves separate study.

[1] *At York (a larger town) a similar plan was in working by* 1379, *though it worked badly sometimes. Besides twelve aldermen, the Mayor had twenty-four special councillors, many of them the richer merchants and craftsmen; he had also forty-eight councillors, who included younger and less wealthy merchants and craftsmen.*

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
W. Besant ..	London	*A. & C. Black.*
A. E. Bland & R. Tawney	Select Documents Illustrating English Economic History	*G. Bell & Sons.*
G. G. Coulton ..	Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation	*Cambridge Press.*
W. Cunningham	Monuments of English Municipal Life	*S.P.C.K.*
A. S. Green ..	Town Life in the Fifteenth Century	*Macmillan & Co.*
G. A. Gotch ..	The Growth of the English House	*B. T. Batsford.*
A. Harvey ..	Castles and Walled Towns ..	*Methuen.*
F. E. Howard ..	Old Houses in Oxford. [Oxford Arch. and Hist. Soc.]	*Fox, Jones & Co., Oxford.*
T. H. Turner ..	Domestic Architecture in England	*Parker, Oxford.*

[For the history of particular towns, see the Victoria County Histories [published by Messrs. Constable & Co.], the Historic Towns Series [published by Messrs. Longmans], the Ancient Cities Series [published by Messrs Methuen], the Story of English Towns Series [published by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge], or some similar series.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRY

THE word "industry" means, of course, diligence. But in modern speech it has a second meaning. It means that diligence which applies itself to making some special thing. A person engaged in industry is called an artizan, or mechanic, or, as our ancestors said, a craftsman. The "industries" were the "handicrafts" in old English speech. Men spoke of the "weavers' craft" or the "armourers' craft," where we speak of the "textile industries" or the "steel and iron industries." This change is much more than a change in mere words. "Craft" then meant personal skill or cunning. In old days everything manufactured was the handiwork of some skilful man. Now the individual has given place to the machine. In the isolated, self-supporting village of the 14th century every villager was a craftsman, making all kinds of things for himself. Every man understood something of carpenters' work, and every family could weave homespun cloth, make wooden platters and spoons, and do rough leather work. These were old, old conditions of life.

Yet, even then, some villagers took certain occupations as their own; for it was not every one who had a smith's strength or a smith's forge, or the money to buy iron. At last, in every village a smith was to be found to shoe the horses, and to bind cart-wheels with iron, and shape ploughshares.

In most 14th-century villages there was a carpenter, who

made not only stools, trestles for tables, and coffers, but also the timber framework which formed the skeleton of every house and barn. Such a carpenter by trade was the reeve of the Canterbury tales—

> "The Reeve was a slender cholerik man,
> His beard was shaved as nigh as ever he can,
> His hair was by his ears round y shorn.
> * * * * *
> In his youth he had learned a good mistere [craft]
> He was a right good wright, a Carpenter.
> This reeve sat mounted on a right good stot, [cob]
> That was all dappled gray, and was called Scot,
> A long surcoat of pers [1] on he had,
> And by his side he bare a rusty blade."

Another village craftsman was the weaver. His loom stood at one end of his living-room. Every woman spun her own wool into yarn for herself, and sometimes the good man had a loom and wove the homespun at home. But in the more populous villages the women took their yarn to the village weaver, and then came and fetched the cloth from him, as was done in the Lowlands of Scotland within living memory. Probably it was the roughest of homespun, smelling of the sheep, neither dyed nor finished. In most villages there was a wheelwright; in many, a sawyer; and in those where clay was to be found, a tiler who burnt rough tiles, and covered and mended roofs. In every village the ale-wife brewed ale and beer, and sold it at her own house.

These village craftsmen were usually villeins or small freeholders with their own arable and meadow strips and pasture rights. About 1300 the wages of the country craftsmen were what they had always been. They were paid "by custom." No great change had occurred since the 13th century in the cost of living, and so no great demand was made for any increase in wages. No average daily wage for all craftsmen can be given. We know, however, that a master

[1] *A long shirt-shaped garment of dark blue, or bluish-gray.*

carpenter sometimes received as much as 6*d.* a day. This was about three times the wages of the agricultural labourer. An ordinary carpenter received from 2*d.* to 5*d.* a day. Tilers and sawyers were paid at about the same rate. In the country the master carpenter, tiler, and sawyer were hired sometimes by the day, sometimes by the month. Each had a "boy" or a "helper," as he was called, who was either an apprentice learning his craft by helping his master, or a journeyman working with him. Usually he was paid half as much a day as the master craftsman.

Thus the crafts existing in the villages supplied necessary wants only, and those wants were only those of the village people. The little places had no hand-made wares to take to market in the town. The only places where the finer hand-made goods could be obtained were the towns. The townsmen alone could buy rich raw materials, such as fine leather or ivory for their work. They, too, alone could afford to make more than their own household, or their own town, would use of their wares, because they alone could rely on sales to foreign merchants, or traders from other towns, who visited the town market only. Most market towns made chiefly wares of a useful and necessary character, such as linen and cloth, buckles and brooches, and goldsmith's stock, saddles and leather work, armour, nails, spits, iron pots, hinges, hooks, and other things. In St. Albans, about 1330, there were only bakers, brewers, carpenters, smiths, makers of malt, tanners, and tailors. But in great towns, like London or York, all sorts of wares could be bought, even carved beads for rosaries, and bindings for books. Yet, even in the 15th century, it was necessary to send to London for certain wares, even from Norwich, one of the greatest English cities. In 1452 a Norfolk lady, Dame Paston, wrote from Norwich to her husband, John Paston, who was staying in London—

"Right worshipful husband, I commend me to you. I pray you that you will do buy two dozen trenchers, for I can get none in this town. Also I pray you that you will send me a book [1] with chardeqweyns [2] that I may have of in the morning, for the air be not wholesome in this town, therefore I pray you heartily let John Suffield bring it home with him.

"No more, but the blessed Trinity have you in his keeping, and send you good speed in all your matters. Written on St. Leonard's even. . . . "Yours,

"MARGARET PASTON."

At another time she asked him to buy "two good hats for children"; and, again, finely carpentered wooden beams. For she could not get them in Norwich.

The country craftsman lived far from other people of his own craft. When he talked to the neighbours it must have been all about crops and cows, weather and fields; for he, too, was a farmer, just as they were. But the life of the town craftsman was very different. About 1381, in a lane near Ludgate Hill, in London, stood a large house, its timbered front darkening the street. From the windows came sounds of voices, laughing, shouting; people coming along the lane would look, stop, and turn in. It was a brewery. In front were three "shops," rooms probably furnished roughly with benches and tables. Here the beer was sold. Thirsty people lolled about here, served by the fat good-wife and the little apprentices. Behind was the brewhouse. Here the journeymen and the apprentices made the drink. They brought in the malt from the maltmakers in sacks. Very probably they used it straight out of the sacks without cleaning it. There were three sets of hand-mills on a shelf. On brewing days the apprentices and the journeymen must have begun by grinding up the malt. Meantime some one was looking after the fire, for the ground malt, or grist, had to be put into the great mash vat that stood in the brewery, with very hot water, and stirred

[1] *A measure containing about* 10 *lbs. weight.*
[2] *The preserved pulp of quinces.*

about continually—a nice job perhaps for an apprentice. Next came the boiling, and then the journeymen put the liquor into vessels to ferment. The "brewing tubs" which stood in the brewery may have been used for this. There was a "fining vat" in the brewery, too, used presumably for the ale to stand in and grow clear. Lastly, there were many barrels, into which the journeymen poured the ale at the end. Thus, in the back regions, the journeymen and apprentices made the drink, under the master's eye, and the master himself managed the manufacture, took orders, and also served single draughts, as he went from the vat in the brewhouse to the customers in the front shop.

In another street stood a goldsmith's shop. In front was a small room—the shop, with a counter and chests. Hanging on the walls, or lying in the chests, were the following things: four sets of rosaries of white amber, others of yellow amber, coral, and jet. There were many sets of jet beads, some with larger beads of silver-gilt, and one silver-gilt paternoster. There were other rosaries of blue glass, with the large beads silver-gilt, and little bone rosaries for children. Silver-gilt necklaces and jet ones, and rings there were, and two silver-gilt crucifixes, the pride of the shop. Where had all these been made? Just behind, in the master's workshop. He bought the amber and jet in rough from the German merchants in Thames Street. Then he and his journeymen cut the beads and forged the delicate silver rings on the goldsmith's small anvil; perhaps the apprentice strung the beads, and fixed the little silver fastenings in place. While they worked the master was called into the shop from time to time and sold a rosary across the counter.

Both the brewery and the goldsmith's shop are typical in one respect. In both, the master craftsmen—the maker—sold direct to the actual user of the goods—the customer. This

way of working is known as the Domestic System of Industry.

These two cases are typical, too, in other ways. Few master craftsmen wrought single-handed. Goldsmith or brewer, each was helped by his journeymen or "varlets," and his apprentices. The journeyman was a craftsman who had not yet set up for himself. He was, perhaps, the child of a craftsman,

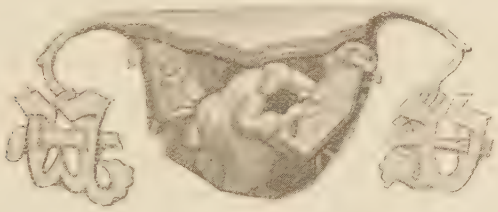


FIG. 10.—A Carver and his Apprentices.

A carving under a seat in St. Nicholas Church at King's Lynn about 1415. The carver is punching the ground; at the sides are his saw and chisel.

and had picked up his trade from his father, without formal apprenticeship. Or he had been an apprentice, but had not money enough to start immediately as a master. He was working now to save; to save for his entrance fees for the gild, for his loom and press, or his hammer, tongs, and forge, and for raw material for his craft. The journeyman, early in the 14th century, hoped to be a master soon. It was still unusual for any one to be a journeyman all his days.

All the journeymen lived in the master's house, probably upstairs, above the brewery. The master knew them all (they were but few) intimately. Master and men sat down to meals together after hours of common work. By their keep, indeed, the men were paid in part. Besides, each got a small wage.

The journeymen's hours and conditions were regulated by the masters of the craft; usually the journeymen had no assembly or society of their own. Sometimes they met and

drank together. Sometimes, in particular crafts, they tried to unite against their masters; but, on the whole, master and journeymen, who would be masters in future, got on pretty well.

Just as at the present, well-to-do parents article their boy to an engineer and pay a premium so that he may learn his trade thoroughly, so, in the early 14th century, well-to-do parents made their boys apprentices. The value of it was that the master bound himself to train the boy.

Chaucer sketches a London apprentice, Perkin. Perkin was as lively as a goldfinch in the hedge, trim and short, brown as a berry, with black locks combed to the best advantage. This worthy fellow could sing, hop, dance, and cast the dice better than any other apprentice. These were his virtues. Of his actions, Chaucer tells us that he used to rob the cash-box, and when that any riding [1] was in Chepe—

> "Out of the shope thither wolde he leap
> Till that he hadde all the sight y-seyn
> And danced well, he would not come again,
> And gathered him a meyney of his sort [following]
> To hop and sing and maken such disport."

Now Perkin must have been careful even in his careless pranks, for a master could get rid of an apprentice if he did certain specified misdeeds, even though he sometimes spent a night in Newgate prison—perhaps on his master's complaint. The master must "teach the boy, and chastise him duly, and maintain him," and give him some little sum—6*d.* or 12*d.*—a year pocket money. He received the boy at eight, or nine, or ten years of age, and for a varying number of years. By degrees the term of seven years became commonest. At last Perkin's master grew thoroughly weary of him, but apparently he endured him until nearly the end of the apprenticeship. Then at last he bade him go "with sorrow and mischance."

[1] *Jousting or procession. In Chepe, outside St. Mary-le-Bow, was a tourney ground in Edward III.'s reign.*

And Perkin removed his bed and his belongings to the house of a friend, less respectable even than he.

With all its merits and defects apprenticeship was becoming a very common way of entering a craft.

At the end of apprenticeship came the entry into the gild as a freeman or master—that is, as a fully qualified workman. The master brought the apprentice before the wardens of the gild. He recommended him for their acceptance; he mentioned, too, what property the apprentice had, to show the wardens that he was able for mastership. Then the wardens spoke to the would-be freeman about a master's duties—his obedience to his wardens, his faith in keeping craft secrets, his loyalty in not decoying other men's varlets and apprentices away. Then they recited the Freeman's oath to him, and he put his hand on the Gospels, and repeated it—

"I shall truly do and obey all good rules contained in the book of ordinances; I shall always be obedient to my wardens; I shall well and duly pay all my dues and charges, so help me God and his Saints."

So ran one such oath. Then the new entrant paid his fee to the treasurer. Now he was a master of his craft and a member of his craft gild.

The reason why craft gilds were wanted is shown by the following case :—

At Leicester, from the 13th century, the chief industry was the weaving of cloth. Merchants came from far and near to buy it. It was very important that the weavers of Leicester should be known for sound honest work. Again and again the Mayor and portmanmoot had made rules and punished weavers for breaking them. But about 1377 the work was not at all sound. All the weavers of the town knew it. At last, two notorious weavers were seized, for their yarn was quite rotten. The Mayor caused all the weavers to attend the portmanmoot. Then he adjudged the two—

William Martin with the Baldhead, and James French—to the pillory. To this penalty all the weavers agreed. Next they agreed with the Mayor, that Thomas and Roger, two honest weavers, should "search and visit" all the men of the craft, and, should they find offenders, bring them before the Mayor. They were to be "wardens" or "searchers" of the gild. But the Mayor it was, and remained, who punished cheating weavers. In some such way as this, many craft gilds originated. Then one by one, men of other crafts came into court and asked the Mayor's leave to make themselves into a gild. By the middle of the 14th century, in most boroughs, the fully qualified workmen, or "masters" of each craft, formed a "craft gild."

Thomas and Roger, the weavers' wardens, did their searching, and did it efficiently. They went from house to house examining the work, and at last they came into the house of William Martin. The neighbours heard loud voices within; and then, suddenly, the door burst open, and out stumbled Thomas, Roger, and William. William was beating the two searchers, shouting, cursing; as they ran away, he bellowed after them, "I'll kill any four of you—any *four* of you!" But, later, the Mayor's servant came; he was a strong man, and a match for more than William. He led William away, and at the portmanmoot William was forced to pay a great sum to the town funds. The Mayor and the gild were not to be trifled with.

Exactly what rules the master weavers had made in Leicester at that time we do not know. But we do know that, although it was the Mayor who enforced the rules, it was the master weavers who met together and made them. And we know what rules the London weavers made in the reign of Edward II. Very probably the Leicester ones dealt with similar matters in a similar way. These were the London rules—

"The Mayor shall take a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* if a cloth made of thrums [short threads] is exposed for sale.

"No one shall take an apprentice for less than 7 years. Whereas it was forbidden to weave a cloth of less than 40 aunes [about 40 inches] in less than 4 days, it may now be done more quickly, if it be well done.

"No weaver is to work at night, nor to make cloth of mixed English and Spanish yarn, nor to put black thread into cloth instead of Hawen.[1]

"Searchers shall be chosen for cloths of all kinds, to see that they be good and genuine when they come from the hands of the weavers.

"Nothing is to be charged for making the cloth, except the sum agreed upon by him who has the cloth woven, and the weaver."

These rules show what sort of supervision the gild gave to work, both to processes and customs.

The inhabitants of one street usually knew one another well, for the men of one craft often lived in one street.[2] In the gild, they called each other by the kindly title, "Brother" or "Sister." They soon procured themselves a gildhall, or even built one, with a hall, a council chamber, and a kitchen. A poor little gild hired a room in a tavern.

To the gildhall every man, woman, and child in the gild went very often. They went there for feasts and dancing; for assemblies and grave deliberation. The gild existed for other purposes beside work.

Take, for example, the gild of the tailors of Norwich. In 1350 all the master tailors and tailoresses met to settle certain religious matters—quite as much gild affairs as the business affairs of the weavers of London. Through the record of this meeting we know what they were accustomed to do. On the second Sunday after Easter the alderman (or warden) of the gild sent for some of the brethren, and decided with them "who should make the candle, and keep it." This meant: who should mould the great candle needed for the services on Ascension Day—the great festival day of these tailors. In those days, when every one made their candles at

[1] *A dull blue.*
[2] *See chapter on Town Life.*

home, any gildsman's wife could do the work. The alderman gave the wax, pure wax, bought with the gild's money, probably from "foreign" merchants. And he gave 8*d.*, too, to the tailor chosen, "for his trouble." On Ascension Day every gildsman owed attendance to church as a duty to his gild, as well as to his own soul. The service for that day has three parts: "Candle-bearing, Mass, and Offertory"; and the tailors must attend them all. "He who fails that day," said the tailors in 1350, "shall pay a pound of wax."

So the tailors went to church, all in their best clothes. The long embroidered gown, the short embroidered tunic, the carefully jagged cloak, the fanciful hood with a long, falling "liripipe," the simple frieze jerkin, and leather belt, were all to be seen sitting on the same bench together, a motley company. Probably the tailors of the 15th century would have been displeased by this sight. By that time the prevailing fashion was that people connected in any way should show it by dressing alike. By then most gilds had devised a uniform dress, which they called their "livery"—a red gown, and a blue hood, for instance, with girdle and purse. To buy the livery cost a good deal. The amount was serious to a master only just rich enough to be a master. It was one of the expensive things which made it harder for a 15th-century journeyman to become a master than it had been for his 14th-century predecessor.

The Ascension Day service was a joyful one. For the Tailors' Gild the Friday following was a day of sad recollection and remembrance. All the brethren and sisters attended a Requiem or service of prayer for the dead. The priest prayed for the peace of all Christian souls, and, then, especially for all dead members of the gild. It was a solemn, mysterious service of remembrance and love. Then the gild departed from the church to their assembly chamber into which the

masters went, and they only. A great candle was lit, "burning in honour of God and Our Lady," and they all fell upon their knees and repeated a prayer "in worship of God and Our Lady."

Then they came to business. It is extremely likely that they elected their officials at this time—the alderman (or warden) whose work is described on p. 56, and the treasurer. A treasurer was necessary to take in entrance fees and the subscriptions of freemen for special purposes, such as "drinkings," and to look after gild property, such as stocks of trade-material, or houses, and lands. Most gild treasurers had to give in their accounts annually. They spent money on gild feasts, services, the play (if the gild performed one), and on the gild charities. The Norwich tailors had quite a large amount of gild property, and, greatly to their credit, they used a large part of it to relieve poor members who had come down in the world by the will of God.

"Whose fall into mischief, poverty, crooked, blind, by the grace of God's sending (unless he be a proved thief), he shall have 7*d.* a week of the brethren and sisters to help him."

So careful were the tailors of their brethren's interests that if any of them died *in* Norwich all the gildsmen attended the funeral, and gave money, so that masses could be offered for his soul's rest. Even if a gild brother died outside the alderman sent some of the brethren to the funeral.

Most probably after the council came the banquet. The masters had subscribed a good sum, and perhaps the journeymen, too. While the council was going on the hired cooks were blowing up the kitchen fires, turning the spits, popping fat into the frying-pans, and diving up to the elbows into pudding-paste, sugar, and spice. The wives chatted, journeymen lounged, apprentices played knucklebones: all getting hungrier and hungrier.

At last the door opened. The alderman, with the most respected masters, led the procession to the dais; the lower tables filled up in a moment. In came the cooks with dishes of meat, of game, of fish, dishes of sweet pastry and dishes of cheese, apples, pears, nuts, sweets, jugs of wine, beer, and mead. The gildsmen and their wives put their fingers in the dishes and cut away with goodwill. The apprentices carried the dishes, and took what they could; talk burst forth, quarrels, arguments, song, laughter; a noisy, smelly, stuffy, savoury scene.

Of course, different gilds had different customs. The gilds of Coventry and Chester had their chief festival on the day when they acted their play. Many gilds never acted at all. Similarly, the Norwich tailors made much of church services; many gilds had none. But the gilds described are typical in many things—in origin, in the power which the Mayor had over them, in having wardens, in making trade rules, in having a gildhall, in practising common good-fellowship, common charities, common worship.

Such were the gilds; so was industry carried on. Two changes in industry, of national importance, came about between the middle of the 14th century and the end of the 15th.

One was in the weaving industry. In the 13th century the weaver's work had usually been the making up of yarn brought by some special customer, and taken away by him when finished. The weaver himself made very little cloth for the open market—just a few pieces, on the rare chance of a sale. But, little by little, in certain districts, particular boroughs began to supply a larger area around with their special makes of cloth. In almost every county cloth was made for local use. For instance, Guildford cloth was well-known in Surrey.

But by the end of the 13th century, during the 14th

century, and still more during the 15th, English merchants found that they could sell this rough English cloth, in Flanders and Northern France, to skilful Flemish and French cloth finishers. These men demanded more and more of it, year by year. So the English weaver found that he could weave as much cloth as he liked; the cloth merchant or "draper" (see Chapter V.) was always quite ready to buy it. Consequently all over England men were sitting down to the loom. In every borough they were pressing into the weavers' gild. For a surplus, above local needs, was sought for for export. There were three English regions where good natural pasture for sheep abounded. The first was Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The second was East Anglia—Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex and Kent, too, with its downs and marshes. The third was the West Country—Berkshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Hereford, Shropshire. These three regions became the cloth-weaving regions, which produced cloth for export. In the West was the home of the wife of Bath—

> "A good wife was there, of beside Bath.
> But she was somedeal deaf, and that was scathe! [pity]
> Of clothmaking had she such a haunt
> She surpassed them of Ypres and of Ghaunt."

At the end of the 13th century the cloth export trade was growing, but its scale was small. By the middle of the 14th century the trade had become large; and by the end of the 15th century the cloth export from these counties was as important as the export of wool. For the first time England sold to other nations something that her craftsmen made in their shops, on as large a scale as she sold her raw wool.

The second change was one which shaped the whole future of the craftsmen. The merchants who made money by exporting wool, and the farmers who made money by rearing sheep, had more money to spend than their predecessors.

They spent it in their nearest market town upon the wares the craftsmen had made. Thus industry of all kinds was stimulated.

Many were the consequences. First, master craftsmen began to take many apprentices. But many of their gild brethren did not want to increase the number of men in their craft so very quickly. And, besides, they did not want to bring in a number of half-trained workers. Many gilds made a rule that a master was only to have two or three apprentices.

Little by little, too, the admission of journeymen who had not been through an apprenticeship was entirely refused. Nevertheless, country knights and town merchants and citizens could not but be struck by the number of men pressing into the gilds. Gradually they began to fear that too few children would be left in the country to suffice as farm labourers. That is what they said in Parliament in 1388, and a law was passed which forbade any one to apprentice to a craft a child who had worked in the fields until twelve years old. In 1407 and 1408 new laws forbade a man who had not 20*s.* a year of income to apprentice his child in any city or borough except London. So a poor child could only become a country craftsman—village tailor, smith, or cobbler. He could not be a locksmith, or capmaker, or bookbinder in the nearest borough.

These were ways in which entry into a craft in itself became more difficult. But, within the craft, the most important of all changes was going on. This change was the gradual growth of a class of lifelong journeymen. For, among master craftsmen, there began to be a great difference in wealth. Some entrants now came from well-to-do families, and brought money in with them; other masters began to do business in a large way. As masters prospered they raised

the cost of the "livery," and the amounts of the gild subscriptions for "drinkings" and charities. Poor masters could hardly pay them. Poor men were shy of becoming masters so they remained varlets until they were greyheaded. "Wages are safe; it costs a lot to be a master, and then, even, you're not sure of work"; they argued, and ended, "No, no, we can't get to be masters nowadays." Here it is that we have the beginning of what we might almost call a "labour" class: of men, that is, working for wages on other men's material. To such men wages were far more important than they had been to men who were only passing through the journeyman stage.

Naturally, after the Black Death, the masters offered journeymen the same wages as had been paid before it. In many crafts they must have accepted them; but here and there the journeymen resisted. In 1350 the London master shearmen had quarrels with their varlets. The varlets went to all their fellow journeymen, and they agreed that no journeyman should work for his master until the quarrel was settled, "by reason whereof the masters have been in great trouble and the people left unserved."

Thus, at once, the first step of the journeymen was to get societies or "companies" of their own, so as to be a little less dependent upon the masters. For this purpose an obscure struggle went on in craft after craft through the second half of the 14th century and throughout the 15th century.

Thus by the end of the 15th century two new things had come to be. One was the existence of a "working-class"—the journeyman. The other was the existence of an English export trade in an English manufactured commodity. Thus we begin to see some remote resemblance to the England of our own day.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
W. Ashley. ..	Introduction to English Economic History and Theory	*Longmans & Co.*
,,	The Early History of the Woollen Industry	,, ,,
A. E. Bland & R. Tawney	Select Documents Illustrating English Economic History	*G. Bell & Sons.*
W. Cunningham	The Growth of English Industry and Commerce	*Cambridge University Press.*
L. Salzmann ..	English Industries of the Middle Ages	*Constable & Co.*
J. Toulmin-Smith	English Gilds	*Early Engl. Text Soc.*
G. Unwin ..	The Gilds and Companies of London	*Methuen.*
,,	Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th Centuries.	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL TRADE

Nowadays no one can confuse the man who makes goods with the man who sells them to the public. Messrs. Huntley and Palmer and their employés make biscuits. Messrs. Harrod's, or Messrs. Barker's, or a grocer sells them to us; and these firms have nothing to do with making, and everything to do with transport and sale. In the Middle Ages this distinction did not exist. The craftsman made goods and also sold them direct to the customer. But, about 1300, a class of special dealers was growing up side by side with these typical craftsmen-salesmen. Even in the 12th century "merchants" were to be found in the boroughs. They were men who spent all their time travelling between one borough and another, buying and selling. A merchant of the 12th or 13th century dealt in goods of all kinds. He might carry at the same time homespun cloth, raw wool, foreign silk, foreign pepper, and ginger, Damascus blades, barrels of French wine, old iron, Droitwich salt, and German wax.

But in the 14th century business was changing. On the whole times were peaceful in England. People worked and could afford to buy. The amount of buying and selling of any one commodity increased. A merchant profited if he devoted his whole time to carrying Leicester wool to King's Lynn, Hertfordshire corn to London, or Sheffield knives to

Ripon, York, Beverley, and Durham. New mercantile types began to appear.

In 1316 Simon Corp, a grocer, dwelt in Soper Lane, London. He was very prosperous. In 1311 he had been Sheriff of London. He was bringing up his son Nicolas to his business, and Nicolas bade fair to do him credit. (Indeed, thirty years later, Nicolas Corp was chosen warden of the grocers, and sat on the dais in the best seat, and wore the warden's chaplet on his head.) But there was a good deal to be learnt about the ways of the trade. Simon's shop was stocked with barrels of ginger and raisins, bales of madder, alum, rice, and cinnamon, bales of aniseed, almonds, and pepper, cakes of saffron, loaves of sugar, bags of cloves, and cardamom, and boxes of comfits.[1] Simon neither made nor cultivated any of these things. His sole business was to buy and sell them. Nicolas had to learn where to buy them from foreigners, and where to sell them to English customers. Ginger, raisins, rice, cinnamon, dates, almonds, pepper, and sugar-cane from one source. To buy them Simon turned to the left out of Soper's Lane, along Budge Row, then to the right down Royal Street, into Thames Street, the real foreign market of London. In Thames Street, just before the Tower of London, was a row of houses called Galley Row, and a wharf called Galley Wharf. Here the Italian merchants, Venetian and Genoese, and Luccese, landed their goods from their galleys.[2] Here they had cellars and storerooms full of groceries. It was here that Simon bought his stock. Madder and alum, turpentine and rosin, came from another source. This was also in Thames Street. As Simon returned from Galley Row he came to the "Gildhall of the merchants of Almaigne" on the south side.[3] Here dwelt merchants

[1] *We have no inventory, but these were the common groceries of the time.*
[2] *See Chap. VI., Foreign Trade.* [3] *Ibid.*

from Hamburg and Lübeck, Dantzig and Riga, Wisby and Cologne, and from these merchants Simon bought the rosin and wax, and other things. His shop was stocked with imports.

His customers were partly English retail buyers. No doubt he served the city housewife, the prior's steward, the country gentleman from Kent, the keepers of cookshops, and the great lord's seneschal. But he had customers of another sort. In Bristol, Norwich, Leicester, and other large boroughs, men were beginning to sell groceries or "spices." Provincial grocers were becoming rich; they were becoming mayors and aldermen. These men bought their stocks from London grocers. Occasionally, Simon found his country clients in his shop. But probably he reckoned to supply them as a rule at the fairs which he attended regularly.[1]

Like the grocer, the mercer dealt in imported wares. His goods were textiles—silk, velvet, tapestry. Like the London grocer, the London mercer bought from Italian and Teutonic merchants. He sold partly by retail, partly wholesale, to country mercers at fairs. Mercers appear earlier and oftener than grocers in lists of mayors. They made money. As early as 1286 a Norwich mercer left his widow two houses which he had bought, his shop and the next one, which he had bought, several stalls in the town market, and another shop, all his purchases. In 1336 a mercer was one of the richest men in Leicester. His goods were worth £60. His son, a mercer, too, was twice a mayor, and once burgess of Parliament.

Special dealers were also beginning to deal in English goods. The saddler, the cutler, and the haberdasher all did so. Thomas Trewe, a haberdasher, kept a shop near Newgate, in London, in 1378. In his shop were red leather laces, and

[1] *See* p. 72.

points,[1] caps half-green and half-red, white nightcaps, woollen caps, hats, four pairs of spurs, iron chains, draughtboards, and sets of men, "a cloth painted with Him crucified," many sets of beads, wooden combs, boxes and peppermills, pencases and inkhorns, green linen thread, purses, paper, six skins of parchment, a wooden whistle, and three pieces of whipcord.

Among these goods, first, there were leather goods. For these Trewe would only have to go to the leathersellers in Cheapside. Secondly, there were caps and hats, both made in London.[2] Thirdly, spurs could be bought from the spurriers in Newgate. Draughtboards and the other wooden goods could be made by any skilful carpenter. Beads or "Paternosters" (rosaries) were made in Paternoster Row, north of St. Pauls, and perhaps also in Royal Street, by the Church of St. Michael, Paternoster. As to the stationery, it was probably bought in 1378 near the Broken Cross in Cheapside. This haberdasher traded in English small wares. The draper traded in the greater English commodity—cloth. Many of the drapers had originally been "fullers." Cloth went through several processes, but it came last to the fuller, who "finished" it. Hence the fuller it was who began to sell it.[3] Gradually he began to leave his journeymen in charge of the daily work, and the weekly sales in the market, and he went off on the roads, leading his pack-horses to neighbouring town markets or fairs. As he changed his business, men changed his name. They called him "draper," because he sold "les draps" (cloth).

Such a merchant was far less in his own shop and stall than the ordinary craftsman. He went on country rounds.

[1] *Laces tipped with metal, for lacing bodices, hose, doublets.*

[2] *Although beaver hats were imported from Flanders.*

[3] *Similarly, among leather workers, tanners tanned leather, curriers curried it, saddlers made it up; saddlers became the special leather workers. Among metal workers, cutlers became the sellers of all bladesmiths' work.*

FIG. 11.—The New Inn, Gloucester.
(Built in the 15th century.)

Besides, he went to one fair, at least, annually, and of these journeys we can reconstruct a picture.

A draper from Northampton is going to Winchester Fair. He loads four or five pack-horses with cloth : he has perhaps russets, or brown-mottled or vermilion " medleys," or kerseys, or choice vermilion " scarlets," worth £3 a piece. The apprentices bring down the " mails," or travelling bags, containing the master's clean shirt, comb, shoes, and purse, with his money and his seal. On the top the wife packs a fresh loaf, a wedge of cheese, and a mutton-pie. The master comes down ; he wears over his tunic an " aketon," or leathern dagger-proof jacket.[1] The eldest apprentice is going, too, as a servant. His master rides a hackney, and the apprentice rides one of the baggage horses. Their preparations are made by torchlight, but the sky is growing bright, and the sun is rising as they wait at the south gate of Northampton for the porter to unbolt it. They cross the Nen by the narrow unfenced bridge, whose stones are crumbling at the sides. One or two people have lately been drowned here. The road leads gently up and downhill through woody, lonely stretches. In the bottoms the mud is a foot deep, so that the horses struggle along slowly. As the road rūns between market towns it is kept according to the Statute of Winchester (1285). This law ordered that underwood should be cleared away for 200 feet on either hand, so as to afford no ambushes. In places, however, the bushes grow up to the roadside, for owners of land are very careless about the law.

At last ploughed land begins, and a smell of wood smoke and dunghill comes down the wind, showing that a village is close at hand. Here and there the way is almost impassable. Half of it is ploughed up by some greedy farmer. In another

[1] *A bye-law forbids the wearing of such coats within the town, but the merchant cannot take risks outside it.*

place water has collected in a deep rut, and the bank above is so undermined that it is ready to topple down on the passers-by. At last the church tower, and then the houses, comes in sight.

The first day's journey is twenty miles, from Northampton to Fenny Stratford, where the master puts up at the Swan inn. The Swan is built round a courtyard with a great gateway to the street. The galleries of the second story overlook the yard, whence rise pungent smells. On the street front are the public parlour, the kitchen, and one or two chambers for hire. Stables occupy two sides of the court. Above are the great public bedchambers, where all the guests sleep together, some in hutch beds against the wall, others on wooden bedsteads with straw mattresses, three or four guests to a bed, covered with a blanket. As neither beds nor guests are of the cleanest, the nights are often uncomfortable. The inn is full of people, some demanding to go down and see the wine drawn, lest they should be cheated, others securing their goods in a corner of the bedchamber, for one of the company may try to rifle the bags of the others and abscond during the night.[1] Others are drinking with the company on the parlour bench. Meantime a ragged disour, or teller of tales, entertains them with a broad jest. From time to time the host rushes among his servants to correct them with his cudgel, his wife shrieking encouragement, or two of the guests quarrel and fall upon one another with fists, nails, and teeth.

Next day they continued their journey. The hilly country between Fenny Stratford and Dunstable is reputed dangerous. The road is the main road from London, through the Midlands, to Chester. There is much traffic upon it and much booty for the robber. The travellers meet the cellarer of Dunstable Priory

[1] *The scene at an inn is described from an illumination in a 14th-century book. The description of the company is from the "Canterbury Tales" and from the "Vision of Piers Plowman."*

and his attendants, riding on monastic business; they meet three carts, carrying a lord's furniture from one of his manors to another; and the Sheriff of Bedford, riding to Dunstable on the King's business. Then they meet a mounted party of minstrels, bearing the Earl of Warwick's badges on their short jackets, lutes and fiddles in baize cases strapped on their backs. They encounter vagrant minstrels, too, tramping in the mud, singing at tavern doors in Dunstable one day, the next on some village green. Next comes a preaching friar, then a bearward and his poor limping bear, a shepherd and his flock.

On the second evening from Stratford the merchant draws rein before the great gate of St. Albans Abbey. The guest-master receives the travellers with a blessing before the porch of the guest-house, and leads them into the Abbey Church to be sprinkled with holy water and to pray for all travellers. Then in the parlour of the guest-house they make known their name and business, and the guest-master calls the cellarer to take them to the rooms reserved for guests of lower rank. The food, beds, and company are good. The merchant opens his best bale and show the prior his finest wares. At midnight, at the sound of the great bell, the guests rise and go into the church. The monks are singing matins in the candle-lit choir; a glow rises from the shrine of St. Alban behind the altar. After service the guests go to bed again. In the dawn they make their farewell offering, and the guest-master wishes them God-speed as the porter unlocks the gates.

So the journey goes on to London, thence from a tavern in Cheapside to Guildford, then to Alton; then through the Downs to Winchester, with increasing numbers of folk bound for the fair.

Only the King could grant the right to hold a fair—that is, to open a ground where any man might buy or sell from any man, provided he had paid toll on the goods. The time and

place of the fair were fixed in the grant. The Bishop of Winchester had to hold his fair on St. Giles' Hill (East of Winchester), for sixteen days, after August 31. During that time no buying or selling might be done within a radius of seven leagues.[1] except on the bishop's fairground. The fair was held on the brow of St. Giles' Hill. Under the brow, the old road from London passed over St. Swithin's bridge to the east gate of Winchester. Some days before August 31 the bishop's men came to enclose the fairground, perhaps with palings, perhaps with hurdles, leaving openings for gates here and there. They laid out streets of wooden booths. In the middle of the sloping field they set up the great tent called "the Bishop's Pavilion of the Fair." The bishop was judge of all quarrels; the grant which gave him the fair gave him this right also. So he held a court in the pavilion. It was called the Court of Pie Powder, that is, Pieds Poudreux (Dusty Feet). Nor did he try only cases arising on the fairground, but also within the seven leagues circuit, during the sixteen days; and he took the fines. Meantime the bishop's steward was letting booths to Cornishmen, and Irishmen, and Londoners, and other strangers. Guests and goods were accumulating in the Winchester inns, and the bishop was making his choice of men to govern the fair for him—three or four men to be his "Justices of the Pavilion of the Fair."

Before sunrise on August 31 the Mayor and Alderman of Winchester were waiting for these "justices" outside the south gate of the city. There the Mayor handed them his keys of the town gates. The bishop's herald proclaimed—

"Let no merchant or other man for these 16 days within 7 leagues round the Fair, buy or sell anything in any place other than the Fair on pain of forfeiting his goods."

[1] *An old English league seems to have equalled twelve furlongs, the mile eight furlongs.*

Every shop in Winchester had to be shut. Although Southampton was really outside the radius the bishop sent his men even there to proclaim that nothing might be sold there except food. Through the radius ran great roads to Southampton, to Salisbury, and to London. To take tolls upon goods on these roads the bishop's officers waited at Romsey, Redbridge, and elsewhere.

The justices climbed the hill and entered the fairground. In the pavilion they appointed a temporary mayor and alderman to govern Winchester for the bishop. They decided which of their own number should sit as judges in the court, and they chose some of the "worthiest" victuallers of Winchester to act as inspectors of food in the fair. If they found a light loaf, or a bad pie, or a stinking herring, they would bring the vendor to be fined in the court. Next, the justices sent out their servants to bring in every pint, quart, and gallon measure, every cloth yard, every set of weights in the fair and the seven leagues round. For the justices were answerable for the accuracy of all measures. They saw them tested in the pavilion, marked the true, and destroyed the false.

When the justices had gone in other people might enter the fairground. In came crowding merchants with carts, pack-horses and packs. The bishop's officers took toll at each gate: on a cartload of hay, corn, or fuel, 1*d.*; on a bale of wool or heavy goods or a mercer's pack, 2*d.*; for a cartload of fish, leather, iron, 4*d.*; and so on. The collectors had to look out sharply. Men even put booths outside the hurdles, broke holes through, and passed goods in by hand to avoid tolls. When the merchant had paid his toll he went to his "booth," a wooden stall with a trestle-table before it. It could be closed at night by wooden shutters.

The master and his apprentice lived in it for sixteen days,

buying food from itinerant vendors, or eating at cookshops in the fair, and sleeping together in a plank bed pushed under the counter by day. Business began at sunrise; at sunset the justices' marshal rode through the middle street, proclaiming that every trader must close his stall. Any one moving about in the fair after this was liable to imprisonment and fine. The merchant put up his shutters, made up his accounts, checked his goods, ate his supper, and lay down with his money-bag under his head and his dagger within reach. The lamp was carefully extinguished. All lights had to be properly guarded, in a lamp or mortar, for the fair had once been burned down, and the Winchester suburb of Cheesehill with it.

In the streets of the wooden town buyers and sellers of three kinds were bargaining. First, there were the English merchants: Winchester men, selling corn and wool; London grocers, pewterers, and drapers, Irish merchants of linen and flax. Secondly, there were the strange foreigners: wine merchants from Bordeaux, merchants of fine cloth from Bruges and Ghent, merchants of steel and wax from Dortmund and Hamburg, Lübeck men with hawks and furs and salt fish. Thirdly, there were the local farmers with hides and cheese and wool; and, lastly, local mercers and grocers and drapers, who streamed in to buy their stocks for the coming year. In 1322 the bishop received £79 2*s.* 7*d.* in all from his tolls and pleas and other dues at the fair. It included stall-rents and dues paid for the weighing of goods at the bishop's official balance; but on a single day, at only one of the three gates, the toll-takers took 30*d.* As a cartload paid 4*d.* at most, and some goods only paid ½*d.* (the ordinary value of a day's field work), the amount of merchandise represented was large, for those days.

For sixteen days trafficking went on. Naturally, disputes

arose. William, the cutler of Sheffield, was outside his stall bargaining with John, of Southampton, for a grindstone ; he wanted to pay for it at the end of the fair. Up came David Blanketmaker and hit William on the head, shouting, "Felon!" John refused to give credit to a "felon." But in the court of Pie Powder William obtained damages from David for his lost bargain and the dishonour done him.[1]

There were many such quarrels, but there was a vast amount of amusement, too—conjuring, bearbaiting, reciting of tales and singing, dances, jokes and drink. It is the pleasure side of the fair, often, that survives. The business side has often died away. For nowadays England is covered with roads and railways, and along these trade routes a stream of native and foreign goods pour steadily night and day. Daily we can buy apricots from the Californian, and furs from the Russian. But in the 14th and 15th centuries fairs were necessary for the exchange of goods between distant places. Beyond the buying and selling within each little place, there was very little further trade. What other trade there was, was largely the buying of food, and the little stir of trade, around each borough. In the 14th century, however, dealings in special commodities was beginning over a wider area. For instance, salt from Droitwich and Northwich was exchanged at Sheffield for blades and at London for spices. Trade over wide areas within England was beginning. The fair gave a definite safe meeting place to merchants from distant parts. It gave a time and place where the whole of the local demand was brought together. Such help was just what such immature commerce required.

[1] *This particular case happened at Leicester fair in* 1347.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
W. Besant ..	London	*A. & C. Black.*
E. L. Cutts ..	Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages	*De la More Press.*
W. Cunningham	The Growth of English Industry and Commerce	*Cambridge University Press.*
J. A. Jusserand	English Wayfaring Life ..	*T. F. Unwin.*
G. Unwin ..	Finance and Trade under Edward III.	*Manchester University Press.*
C. Walford ..	Fairs, Past and Present ..	*Elliot Stock.*

CHAPTER VI

FOREIGN TRADE

At the beginning of the 14th century the whole area within which trade went on was very small. It extended over Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. Within that area large districts contributed nothing to foreign trade. Each village and town was, on the whole, self-supporting, and many places produced no surplus goods to offer to other districts. Certain areas, however, had a great excess of produce, and these were the principal ones concerned in foreign trade. The chief trading countries of the 14th century were not the chief trading countries of to-day.

Northern Europe—Scandinavia, the Baltic Coasts, Russia—formed the chief source of supply for some very important things. William Worcester,[1] once chatted with a hermit, who had lived eleven years in Denmark before he entered his English roadside hermitage. He told William—

"Riga is a very rich country, near Poland; so is Reval. Copper, iron, gold, and silver are found there. Fymark Island [2] is the greatest of all islands for fishers of cod; in North Sound is the greatest of all herring fisheries, with ten thousand boats. In Russland . . . are great riches of wax and furs, and in . . . Lithuania, the greatest abundance of wax. And in . . . Sweden there is much copper and iron." [3]

These cold, distant regions produced a supply of iron, wax, tallow, timber, furs, copper, gold, silver, salt-fish, for

[1] *See Chap. X.*
[2] *Modern name uncertain.*
[3] *Iron was exported from Spain also.*

the whole of Europe. Wine and wool were the two other commodities produced in excess of local needs by their native localities. Wine came from Gascony, Champagne, and the Rhineland. Spain exported wool in small quantities. England exported it in large quantities, which were increasing steadily. They were increasing fast, because England was comparatively peaceful after 1327, and so people could farm instead of fighting; and, secondly, because the population was much diminished after 1349,[1] and hence the surplus of wool was greater. English wool, English woolfells (sheep-skins), and English leather, represented England on the Continent.[2] They received a special name: the "staple" goods. "Staple" is the old French word "estaple," [3] twisted by English tongues. The word meant a depôt for goods; hence it came to mean a "market." Then English merchants used it for the market itself, and also for the goods they took to foreign markets.

Who were the customers who bought these goods? All the Western nations bought the Northern goods, the wine, and the English leather. Thousands of sacks of English wool went to one small region—between the Somme and the Dutch lagoons. From Arras and St. Quentin to Antwerp extended the chief industrial area of Northern Europe, and its industry was clothmaking. The fine cloth woven there went back to England, went to France, Spain, Italy, Russia, Germany, Greece, Constantinople, "all over the world." As much wool as England could produce the Flemings would buy.

During the 14th century our foreign trade was increasing steadily. This was due partly to the continual foreign demand for our wool. It was due partly to the rapid growth of English

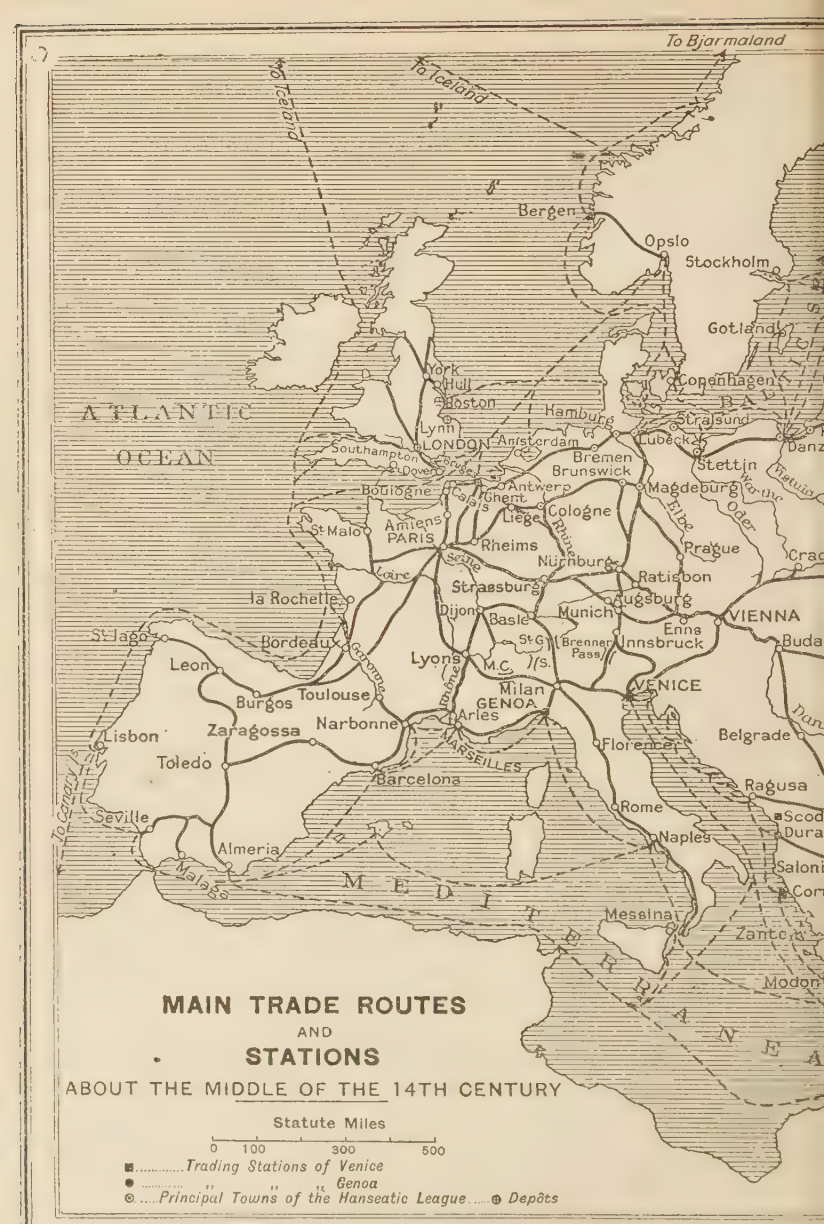
[1] *See Chap. II.*
[2] *Cornish tin and Derbyshire lead were the two lesser exports.*
[3] *Cf. Etaples, near Abbeville.*

demand for foreign goods. Men liked the wines they had drunk in France and in Gascony during the war. Men liked the silks, velvets, and brassware which they had taken as plunder in French towns. As late as 1446 many people were still shocked by such un-English tastes. But Englishmen had acquired them, and began to make money to gratify them. But in the 14th century, to bring foreign goods into a country was not easy. A foreigner was considered an enemy. This opinion was held by every nation. In England, as elsewhere, as soon as a foreigner's goods touched English ground the King's collector of customs came to take the due which the King levied on all imported goods. The collector examined the bales, wrote down the value, and marked the bales with the royal mark. Then he required payment; so much from an Englishman, and double that amount from a foreigner. By old custom a foreigner might only stay forty days in England. This was a short time in days of slow travel, and lengthy law-suits and business. In any town to which he came the foreigner might only deal with burgesses, and only by wholesale. He might never deal with another foreigner. He was obliged to stay with the man to whom the Mayor of the town sent him. This English "host" brought him into court if he were accused of debt or other wrong. An Englishman could sue him in the borough court, using the local customs of the court, of which the foreigner knew nothing. If the foreigner ran away the Englishman complained to the Lord Chancellor, who ordered the Mayor to seize either the foreigner's goods, or else those of his compatriots, to pay the creditor. If the debtor was from Malines all the men of Malines suffered; if from Rostock, all the men of Rostock. It was difficult for a foreigner to get his money from an English creditor. He might not understand the exact customs of the borough court. A case there might last two or three months, and he had but six

weeks. Faced abroad by difficulties like these, Englishmen were just beginning to go "beyond seas" to trade. Some few English merchants were trading abroad in France and in Flanders before 1300. But, except perhaps in the wine trade with Gascony, foreign goods were brought to England, and English goods taken away, chiefly by foreigners. Still earlier, foreigners had begun to come to England to trade. Some of them had overcome these difficulties.

In Thames Street, between Dowgate Dock and All Saints Church, was a large space enclosed by a high wall, with gates, like some castle. It was the settlement of the "merchants of Almaigne." Within stood their houses and warehouses, and wine vaults, and counting-houses. Their wharves lined that part of Thames Bank. They had a great court-room and a common hall and kitchen, a common sitting-room, and perhaps a "children's room" for their apprentices and junior clerks. Apprentices, clerks, and perhaps some merchants slept in common dormitories, and men of standing probably had rooms of their own. In 1351 a certain Hildebrand Sudermann lived there. He came from Dortmund, near Cologne. In his room he kept his personal belongings, his silver seal, his papers, his girdles, his silver spice-dish, the alabaster statue of his patron saint. His clothes lay in three chests, and his money was locked up there—£89 5*s.*, and 7*s.* in foreign coins. Hildebrand's wares were in his part of the common warehouse. He had twelve barrels of steel there. John Hatfield, of Thorn-on-the-Vistula, John Wistroie, and Henry Buke of Lübeck, and many others, had "pieces" of wax, sacks of almonds, dishes of Lübeck silversmith's work, barrels of Swedish iron, bales of ermine, squirrel, and sable. For all the Northern goods, England practically depended upon "the merchants of Almaigne" until the end of the 15th century.

All these men were merchants of the "Hanseatic League"—



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Trade Routes

The London Geographical Institute.

an alliance existing between certain German towns. It had originated in the 13th century. In 1200 townsmen of Cologne and other towns on the trade routes of Germany [1] were already trading even in England and the Baltic coasts, under the protection of their overlord, the emperor. But after 1250 the government of Germany broke down altogether. For twenty-three years the crown was in dispute; even in the 14th century the emperor had very little power, and kept very little order. So the townsmen protected themselves. First,[2] the men of Cologne made agreements with other towns near by. Then, all these towns grouped under Cologne, joined a large number of towns grouped under Lübeck.[3] The condition of joining the League was that trading privileges obtained by one town were shared by townsmen of all the allied towns. The towns bought many privileges from foreign rulers. In London they bought the right to try their own men and to pay lower customs dues than other aliens, and other rights, too. The map on pp. 82-3 shows the principal "Hansa" towns. It shows, too, the depôts, like the London depôt, of the League in important towns abroad. Any Hansa merchant was free of these depôts. He got house-room and storage, protection by his compatriots, familiar food and familiar wine, and a share in privileges. At Bergen, and at Novgorod, and some other outlying depôts, the Hansa had bought from the native rulers the right to be the sole foreign traders allowed.

The merchants ruled themselves strictly. They chose "aldermen" from among themselves. These aldermen tried cases—cases between Hansamen and cases between Hansaman and Englishman. They also made rules: no merchant, clerk, or apprentice might marry in England; each must keep

[1] *See Map, pp.* 82–3.

[2] *Between* 1250 *and* 1310.

[3] *About* 1364, *from which date they began to hold common yearly assemblies, seventy or eighty towns belonged to the League at its greatest.*

FIG. 12.—The Market-place, Bruges, as it is to-day.

The building with the tower is the belfry or town hall, built about the end of the 13th century. The buildings on either side are the old town markets, built about 1248. There the Flemish wool merchants sold the cloth woven from English wool.

certain weapons ready for use; each must be in at nine o'clock, when the great gates were shut.

Thus the Hansards overcame trading barriers by buying privileges. But difficulties of transport existed for them and for all other merchants, too.

Henry Buke, whose goods lay in the warehouse beside Sudermann's, belonged to a Lübeck firm which bought iron in Sweden, and tallow in Novgorod, and furs from Smolensk, and sold them in London. They arranged the transport from Lübeck with Tidmann Mulard, a Lübeck shipowner. He had a "cogg" of 300 tons, and a "hulk" still larger and stronger. Similarly, an English merchant arranged with a shipman, or shipowner, who was sometimes actually the skipper. Chaucer's "shipman" probably owned his "barge," a small sailing ship called the *Maudelayne*. When the goods and the merchant were on board, and sail set, the merchant was face to face with danger. In 1319 three Gascon merchants chartered the *Swallow*, of London, in a Gascon port. John Gregg was the skipper. The owner, Alan Atte Wharf, lived, of course, in London. The three Gascons put eighty barrels of wine on board. Their representatives made themselves comfortable; they took their own beds, and silver cups, and some very good clothes. Perhaps John Gregg was like Chaucer's "shipman"—

> "Full many a draught of wine had he ydrawe [drawn
> From Burdeux-ward while that the Chapman slept.
> * * * * *
> But of his craft, to reckon well his tides,
> His streames and his dangers him besides.
> * * * * *
> There was none such from Hulle to Cartage."

The *Swallow* anchored safely off the North Foreland. Then a ship hove in sight—a Fleming. She came alongside the *Swallow*.

Her men boarded the English ship. Not a man on the *Swallow* survived. The pirates sailed away with the prize. This was quite a common incident.

English pirates were as fierce and as numerous as foreign ones. The Gascons had lost their wine and their men, and now they had to apply to the English King, a very expensive process. They had to prove to the King's officials, first, that they had actually been robbed, and, second, who, or of what nationality, the pirates were. Had the pirates been English they would have been hanged if the sheriff could find them (but usually he could not), and their goods sold to raise compensation money. The Gascons proved that they had been really robbed, and by Flemings. Royal officials found out that Flemish merchants were buying wool in Lincoln and York. Then the King ordered the Sheriff of Lincoln to seize their goods and raise £300, and the Sheriff of York to raise £306 similarly. Thus the Gascons obtained something, after infinite trouble and expense. It was only thus, by "reprisals," that merchants could get any compensation in England for damage by pirates. For damage by wreck there was no compensation. Insurance there was none. Such were the risks faced by Hansa merchants, and by French and English merchants and skippers who bought wine from Bordeaux.

There was a third great difficulty—the great dishonesty of merchants. It appeared very strikingly in bargains over wool. Foreign merchants came to England chiefly to buy wool. In March, 1340, Sudermann shipped 188 sacks to Flanders, and in April some hundreds of sacks. The wool was sold at so much per sack (364 lbs.). But often men took wool out of the sacks after they had sold them, or they delivered a sack of bad wool in place of a sack of good. The buyer had only one security : the sacks were weighed finally at the port,

by royal officials, before they took the royal customs dues, and incidentally the foreign buyer could see if the weight was still true. Indirectly, English merchants profited, for the foreign customer felt that this was a security. Many merchants, English and foreign, who shipped wool did not see this. Many would ship their wool unweighed from little ports where there were no customs officials, so that they paid no dues.

Throughout the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. the customs dues from wool were increasing. Yet it was proved again and again how many merchants never paid at all. And Edward II. saw, too, that the merchants suffered by selling light weight and poor wool at low prices. In 1313 he ordered all merchants who exported wool to export only through certain ports, and take it only to one large "staple" (market) in Flanders. Then, in one market, weight and quality could be checked, and prices kept up. The King ordered a Bristol merchant, Richard Sturry, to fine all merchants who disobeyed. After five years the King made inquiries; he was answered, "all the merchants of the realm" had disobeyed. In 1328 the young Edward III. agreed that the whole plan should be given up.[1]

In 1337, however, Edward needed money for war. He actually bought up the whole wool clip, and offered certain great merchants the sole right to export it, in return for loans. Later, he again gave certain great English merchants the sole right of export; in return, they agreed to pay very high dues on wool, and to sell only in Bruges. Thus the small exporter was debarred from business that year.

By 1353 Edward saw that it would pay better to allow all merchants to export if they would pay the usual due and select staple towns. The Commons hated the monopoly of

[1] *There were various attempts to revive it between* 1328 *and* 1337.

great merchants and the high customs; so, in 1353, the Commons promised that the merchants should submit to arrangements which would secure payment of dues, proper weighing, and sale at staple towns. In ten English towns —Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol —and in those only might wool be sold. In each English woolsellers were to choose a chief, "the Mayor of the Staple." Whenever wool was sold this mayor was to be there. He was to see it weighed and register the weight. Then he must send a note of the number and weight of the sacks to the customs' official at the port, for to each town a port was assigned—*e.g.* Hull to York. No one could steal wool from the sacks undetected, nor could any merchant turn down a bye-road and meet his customer secretly and sell him cheap wool, which was bad wool. And the King received the specially heavy dues paid by foreigners.

FIG. 13.—William Greville, "The Flower of the Merchants of Wool," and his Wife.

(*From a brass in Chipping Campden Church, Gloucestershire.*)

Greville wears the long gown with belt and anelace, or knife, like Chaucer's Frankeleyn. His mantle and forked beard were also in fashion among merchants in Chaucer's day. Greville died in 1401.

A generation later things had changed. The plan of the ten staple towns had failed long ago; as long as foreigners came to England, so long would they and Englishmen deal together

secretly, outside the staple towns. The capture of Calais had given us a piece of convenient English ground outside England. So Richard II. appointed Calais the one "staple" town for wool sales—the town to which all English wool merchants took their wool, and to which all foreign buyers came. This arrangement became permanent.

A merchant who traded in wool belonged to the "Society of the Merchants of the Staple," and he called himself a Stapler. He began as apprentice to a stapler. Later he joined, or founded, a firm. About 1477, an old stapler, Richard Cely, took his son into partnership. Old Cely did the business in Mark Lane, London, and young Cely managed the business at Calais. Every spring old Cely rode down to "Cotswold" to buy wool—"good Cotswold," sometimes at £8 a sack. He got back to London about Easter; the wool-sacks were arriving daily on pack-horses. Cely arranged the shipping with William Bellsom, master of the *George;* the sacks were stitched up in canvas, marked with Cely's mark, and stowed away before and behind the mast.

Young Cely went down to Calais quay when the sails were sighted. The sacks were unloaded, he paid his dues, and escorted the wool sacks to his warehouse on Calais wall, by the east watch-tower. He stored the woolfells in his own house. Periodically the mayor of the staple inspected the wool in the warehouses. Once Cely heard his sack, "No. 28," called for inspection. It was full of poor wool. Just in time he twitched the ticket on to a sack of good Cotswold. In summer great fairs were held at Antwerp, at St. Rémy, near Liège, and in two or three other places. To these Cely went. He sold many sacks, and made great profits. His customers were Pieter and Giesebrecht, of Bruges; Pieter, of Ghent, and others—merchants who supplied the Flemish weavers with wool. The Celys' turned over about £2000 of wool in a year. As summer drew

on wool ships ceased to sail, for fear of foul weather. The mayor and council of the staple raised the price, until February; sales slackened. Young Cely worried his creditors, went hawking, bought dogs and horses, and visited his friends. Sometimes he went to London for a week's holiday.

Throughout the 15th century the staplers were prospering. But even by the end of the 14th century England had begun to change. She had been only a wool exporter. She became a cloth exporter. It was only rough homespun that she made, but she made it in increasing quantities. Even in 1400 Englishmen were taking this cloth abroad to sell. By 1407 these "adventurers" had formed little societies at London, Lynn, Newcastle, and other ports. In 1407 they all united in one society to obtain privileges at home and abroad. Henceforward Englishmen went further afield, to more distant ports than ever before. They had begun to be exporters of their own goods.

One large group of goods came, not from Europe at all, but from Asia and Africa. These were the spices retailed by English grocers, and the luxuries retailed by English mercers.[1] The English merchant bought them at a fair, or at Galley Row.[2] The traders of Galley Row were supplied chiefly by the Venetians. Every year there sailed from Venice four "galleys," the largest sailing ships of the time. They had mighty oars, too, and oarsmen, so that they moved in a calm. Two galleys came to England. Venetian merchants freighted them with Eastern goods. Like the Hansards in the North, the Venetians had depôts and privileges in the East. Soon after 1200 they had a settlement at Constantinople, and in the 14th century they set up depôts in Acre, Tyre, and Jaffa.[3]

[1] E.g., *alum (from Morocco, Algeria, Edessa), cotton, gems, ivory (through Acre and Alexandria), cloves, ginger, coral, pepper, pearls, rhubarb (from China), sugar, rice, and a few manufactures, such as gold thread and lawn (both from Cyprus).*

[2] *See Chap. V.*

[3] *See Map, Trade Routes.*

The Genoese, too, had a settlement in Constantinople, and depôts along the Syrian seaboard. In the 14th century they, too, went further. They made outposts of trade on the coasts of the Black Sea ; and they obtained a depôt and the right to trade at Alexandria. Venice and Genoa were the two main gates through which Eastern goods came into Europe. Englishmen hardly dreamed of passing through those gates into the East itself to trade. To mediæval Europe it was the "Merchant of Venice" who hazarded his ships in the mysterious East.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
A. E. Bland & R. Tawney	Select Documents Illustrating English Economic History	*G. Bell & Sons.*
H. R. F. Bourne	English Merchants	*Chatto & Windus.*
W. Cunningham	Growth of English Industry and Commerce	*Cambridge University Press.*
R. Hakluyt ..	Principal Navigations [vols. i. and ii.]	*J. M. Dent, Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
J. Latimer ..	History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol	*Arrowsmith & Co., Bristol.*
D. Hannay ..	The Sea Trader	*Harper & Co.*
H. E. Malden ..	The Cely Letters	*Camden Soc.*
G. Unwin ..	Finance and Trade under Edward III.	*Manchester University Press.*

CHAPTER VII

LIFE OF THE PARISH

In the mediæval village the parish priest occupied a position not quite like that of a modern clergyman or minister. The great differences were these: the parish priest was the sole priest [1] in the place, for there were no chapels or meeting-houses then, and on him depended all the parishioners, rich and poor, for actual religious knowledge. For the majority could not even read. Each one depended upon the priest's teaching. Again and again men of the 14th century laid stress on this. "Ye priests and men of Holy Church, you should be their fathers, and teach them," wrote William Langland in the "Vision of Piers Plowman." Chaucer describes a lovable parson who was almost a perfect priest—

"A good man was there of Religioun,
And was a poore Parson of a town,
But rich he was of holy thought and work,
He also was a learned man, a clerk,
That Christe's gospel truly wolde preach,
His parishens devoutly wolde he teach. [parishioners]
* * * * *
Full loath were him to cursen for his tythes
But rather would he yeven, out of doubt, [give]
Unto his poore parishens about,
Of his offring and eke of his substance.
He could in litel thing have suffisuunce. [enough]
Wide was his parish, and houses far asunder,
But he ne leeft not, for rain ne thunder [never omitted]
In sickness ne in mischief to visyte
The farrest in his parish, much and lyte [great and small]
Upon his feet, and in his hand a staff.
This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf, [gave]
That first he wrought and afterwards he taught.
Out of the Gospel he tho wordes caught."

[1] *The friars, of course, passed through.* (*See Chap. VIII.*)

When Chaucer said teach he meant it literally; for the priest's first duty was to see that his people came to church and confession with understanding and intention. If he were a conscientious man the priest taught the village children. He taught them "Hail be thou, Mary, full of grace," and "Fadre ours that art in Heaven," and "I believe in our Holy Drygt" [Trinity]. He told them the story of Christ, and taught them the beliefs based on it and "the Articles of Faith." He taught them the Ten Commandments. If a person behaved badly in church the priest taught him better—

"None in Church stands shall, not lean to pillar or to wall, But fair on knees they shall them set, . . . and pray to God with heart meek."

There were no benches in church in the early 14th century. The priest taught them that even in the churchyard old and young must stop talking, and pray for the dead who lay there. As the children grew older they came to Confession. They came once at least at Easter, and the priest told them it was better to come far more often. Each one, kneeling before the priest, told him all his misdeeds and difficulties. The priest went thoroughly into each, and said what must be done to root out the sin and turn away the will from wrong. One priest acknowledged that to hear confession properly, and find the right penance, was the priest's hardest task. He said to other priests, "When thee faileth thereto wit, Pray to God to send thee it." He thought so much understanding was needed that the best and quickest of men could hardly give enough. Not only did the priest, sitting with his hood over his eyes, "still as any stone," ask the penitent about his conduct; but he asked him—

"Knowest thou thy Pater and thine Ave and thy Crede? Now say them." "Dost thou believe in God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost?"

and similar questions. Thus he found out if the parishioner

was ignorant or misinformed. An ancient rule ordered each priest to preach in English four times a year, on the Creed, the Commandments, the Virtues and Sins, and the Sacraments. Still oftener the priest gave little addresses, "instructions," on the same subjects. He did not rely upon preaching as much as on the other part of his teaching work—in confessions

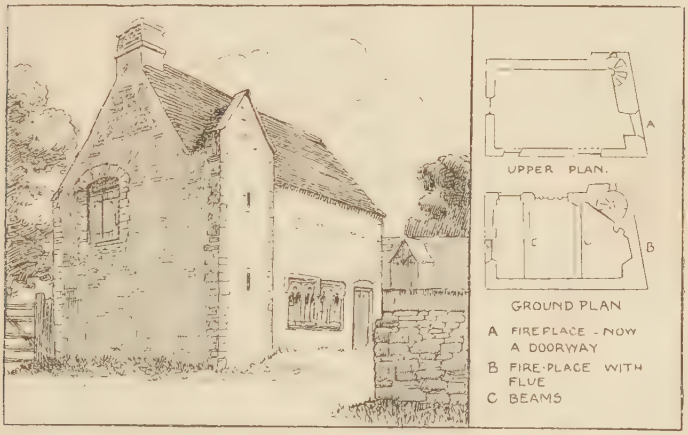

FIG. 14.—A Priest's House (the Old Rectory, Easton-on-the-Hill, Northants).

The ground floor was one room, the living room. Upstairs were perhaps two rooms, possibly chapel and bedroom. At West Dean, Sussex, the arrangement is the same. The West Dean rectory was built in the 13th century; that of Easton probably about 1500.

and visiting. It was quite possible for him to know his thirty or forty households intimately. And there was no class barrier between him and his people. Chaucer's parson was brother to the Plowman. Often the priest was villein born; if he were a freeholder's son he was often but a poor one. And his education was not so advanced as to cut him from farmers and labourers.

The other duties of the priest were the celebration of

church services, hospitality,[1] and charity. Every priest kept open house for wayfarers, lodging and feeding them. The picture and plan on p. 95 give some idea of the accommodation of a country vicarage. The priest had to find out all want and suffering in his parish. On a smaller scale he had to do all that clergy, Poor Law officials, and voluntary societies do now. All the old labourers, all the sick, all orphans, all the very poor were in his charge. As disabled soldiers came back from France his work increased; and after the Black Death, in 1349, there were many widows and orphans. So the priest had a great deal to do with his income.

The parish priest's income came from his "glebe," the land lying in the common fields and meadows, but belonging to the church. Often he laboured on this land himself. Secondly, the priest took "Tithe." Tithe was the tenth of the year's produce. The priest had the tenth sheaf in the harvest field; the tenth lamb in spring; the tenth calf; the tenth of oil and wine made in a year. These were called the Great Tithes. He also had lesser tithes of little things that increase yearly: tenths of cheese, milk, honey, nuts, pigeons, pigs, fish, geese, poultry, garden produce, "and all that is dug with the foot." In towns, naturally, tithe was taken differently. The priest had the tenth penny on each sale in the market, and tenths of the value of new goods obtained or made in shop and warehouse during the year. Lastly, in addition to tithe and glebe, the priest had his "offring," the money received at christenings, weddings, funerals, and church festivals.

In some parishes the resident priest did not receive the whole of this, although the people paid it all. In such

[1] *Of course, monasteries took in wayfarers, so that a priest living hard by a monastery would be relieved of this duty.*

parishes the priest was appointed by a monastery. Originally, lords of the manor appointed the priest. Between 1100 and

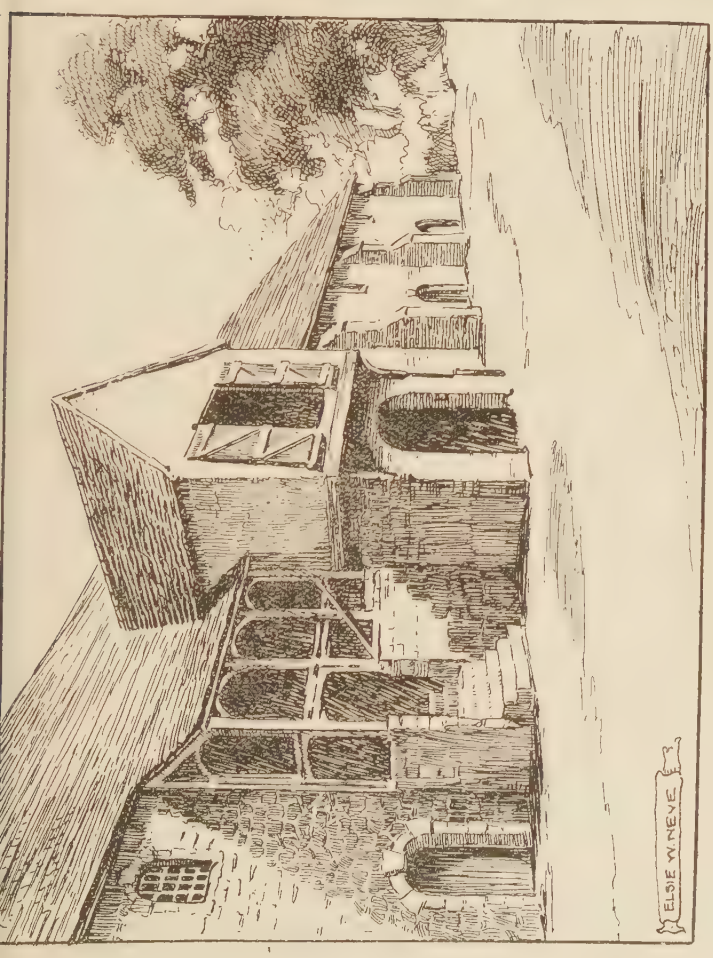

Fig. 15.—Tithe Barn, Tisbury, Wilts, as it is to-day.
It was built in the 15th century for the abbess and nuns of Shaftesbury. They owned Tisbury and took the great tithes. The vicar took lesser ones. The living is still a vicarage.

1300 many lords gave this right to a monastery. Then, often, the monastery appointed the abbot and his successors as rectors.

Of course, such a rector could not do all the parish work, so he appointed a "vicar" or deputy. The abbot obtained the bishop's leave to make a new arrangement. Such an arrangement was made at Preston, in Kent, where the Abbot of St. Augustine's was perpetual rector. The income of £16 was divided. The abbey took the great tithes, and a few other things, making up £9 5*s*. a year. The vicar took the small tithes, and the offerings, making up £6 15*s*. Thus he had to relieve the poor and entertain guests as well on £6 15*s*. as on £16. The bishop could also give leave to an ordinary rector to appoint a temporary vicar. Bishops were willing to do this if the rector had some good reason : if, for instance, he wished to go to study at Oxford. This arrangement was a bad one for the parish church. Men who were willing to take a vicarage were sometimes the failures who could get nothing else.

Not only was the priest an important personage in his parishioner's lives, but the church itself was the scene both of high experiences and of amusing and enjoyable affairs. The church belonged in part to the parishioners, for they had to repair the nave and some of the vestments, and they had to manage this business for themselves. Exactly how they did so in the 13th and 14th centuries we do not know, except that they collected money.

In a few places in the 14th century, and in most in the 15th, the parishioners chose churchwardens—sometimes at Christmas, sometimes at Easter, sometimes for one year, sometimes for two, sometimes two men, sometimes a man and a woman. These wardens raised the money. At Arlington, a Sussex village, they raised 51*s*. 1*d*. in 1463–4. At St. Michael's, Oxford, a town parish, they raised £9 13*s*. 4*d*. in 1404, and at Hythe, the port, £6 7*s*. 2*d*. in 1412. These amounts were got in many different ways. The commonest was a "gaderyng"

(gathering). The wardens collected money at the church doors as the people came out. Often the people knew exactly what it was wanted for ; for instance, to buy wax for church candles. When the roof was to be re-tiled, or other expensive things done, the churchwardens went from house to house right round the parish. Secondly, the churchwardens received gifts and legacies to the parish church. At Aldbury (Essex) in 1458 the priest used a rich green vestment of stuff brought from Alexandria ; embroidered on it were the words, " Pray for the soul of John Shadworth." It was his gift, in the charge of the churchwardens. People often left their best clothes to the parish church, and the wardens had them cut up into altar curtains or frontals, or vestments. Some parishes had property—a house, perhaps, left by some pious man, or a herd of cows, or a flock of sheep. The wardens looked after this property. Lastly, they took certain fees for tolling the bells, digging a grave, having a special seat, or using a church banner. When regular income failed the wardens organised a " Church Ale." People gave all the ingredients for brewing, and men and women came and drank the ale and paid for it. At St. Edmunds, Salisbury, in 1474, three " Church Ales " made £9 5*s.* 5*d.* In some places on Hoke Day (Easter Tuesday) the women barred every thoroughfare with bands of straw, and every passenger paid a penny and a kiss.

One other way of raising money was used in some parishes. The Parish Play of the Holy Sacrament,[1] at Croxton,[2] is a specimen of a fairly large class. Croxton was a small village, with but few householders. The play had twelve parts, and some actors acted two parts. Some months before the performance the parishioners met and chose some local " Bottom

[1] *Probably composed by a Croxton man. Some plays were handed down orally, others in writing.*

[2] *Probably in Norfolk. There are five possible Croxtons.*

the Weaver" to be manager. He dealt out the *rôles*. Then followed much conning of parts by players who could read, and much instruction of those who could not. The priest probably helped them. He had a good part—"The Bishop." During the next weeks William the Weaver could be heard above the noise of his loom—

"Sir Aristorius is my name. A merchant mighty of a royal array."

And evening after evening, the Carter, cast for Colle, the funny man, repeated his speeches after the manager, again and again, on the ale-bench. Meantime the manager had asked the priest for the clothes, which were kept in a chest in the church, and they had looked over them; but beards of tow, an artificial hand, and a great oven with doors had to be made. At last rehearsals began, and then the critics who had seen the play since they were children began to wag their beards.

Two or three days before the performance a couple of men set out from Croxton to advertise the play. Each had a banner, and one his bagpipes. On the green of the next village they halted, the bagpiper gave a flourish, and the other man began the story, which told how the Jews stole the Holy Wafer and tried to burn it, and how, at last, there burst out of the glowing oven a vision of One crucified, to the confounding of their wickedness—

"And it please you, this gathering that here is,
At Croxton on Monday it shall be seen,
Now Jesu ye save from treyn and teen, [sorrow and trouble]
To send us his high joy of Heaven!
Now Minstrel blow up with merry steven!" [voice]

On Monday people from every place near streamed to Croxton. In the churchyard was a low scaffold. The spectators found places round three sides. A ladder led up to the fourth side, which was hidden from sight. On one side of the stage stood a table. Every one understood that that part of the stage was the house of Aristorius. At

the back of the stage was a wooden door; it indicated a church. The manager and wardens bustled about, and at last shouted for silence. All the bagpipes piped up, and Sir Aristorius, in a green tunic and red velvet hat, stepped forward: "Sir Aristorius is my name, a mighty merchant of a royal array. . . ." It was an important moment in the life of the village.

With the money raised in all these ways the wardens had the church books re-bound, the nave repaired, and the churchyard kept tidy. Often they did not do their work properly.

In the church the priest said Mass every single day. Probably few people missed High Mass on Sunday. The service was always in Latin. Few understood it word for word; but most knew the general import, from the priest's teaching. They knew when the Gospel was being read, and rose; they knew when the Bread was being consecrated, and knelt, and said—

"Jesu, Lord, welcome thou be, in form of Bread, as I Thee see,
Jesu, for Thy Holy Name, shield me this day from sin and shame."

Most people had no service books. Some had a copy of the Psalms, in Latin, a "Psalter." Others had a service book in French or Latin, called a "Primer." Of course, all these books were written out by hand. Pious rich people had a copy of one gospel translated into French. As to the Bible, as a whole, there was no complete translation from Latin. People did not know clearly what was in the Bible. To own a Latin Bible, required the bishop's leave. Bishops thought that even the learned among laymen had not got the right preliminary knowledge to understand it truly. It was a book for specially trained learned men. Nor did people want to read it much. What they cared for was the church service and the teaching of their priest.

After about 1350 a new interest among the parishioners began to affect parish priests. The church taught that souls

in purgatory were aided by the celebration of Masses, and even by psalms and prayers without Mass. Now people began to act upon this belief; but they turned away from monks and friars to ordinary clergy. Men hired priests to sing special Masses for dead friends. They left legacies to endow priests, to sing masses for their souls, day by day, year by year, for ever. Such a foundation was called "a Chantry." People who could not afford to found a chantry united in societies called "gilds," or "brotherhoods," or "fraternities." At Grantham the Gild of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross was founded in 1379. Ten years later the two "aldermen" described the gild—

"At the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, all brethren and sisters of the gild meet in the Parish Church to hear the celebration of Mass at a particular altar, and each one makes offering as pleaseth him. After Mass, they meet at a certain place, and there they drink together, but they do not feast. And that day they collect among themselves the pence for the chaplain whom they find celebrating mass, and they pay it to him. Also, they provide 9 wax candles to burn before that Altar during the Mass. They have to pay the Chaplain 2*s.* 1*d.* in coined money."

This simple little fraternity is typical in many ways, for instance, in its purpose—common attendance at a Mass. It was carried out more elaborately at Gedney, a village about thirty-five miles from Grantham.

"By the common council of the gild, it is ordained that all brethren and sisters should attend Mass, and offer offerings, in the Chapel of St. Thomas,[1] on the Day of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. . . . And on the Feast of St. Thomas all the brethren and sisters shall eat together, and with them 8 poor people . . . and then let them go thence to Vespers, and after . . . the Exequies of the Dead (shall) be celebrated, for all dead brethren and sisters and for the Faithful Dead; and on the Morrow, a Mass of Requiem, at which each shall offer, and shall give 1*d.*"

Both these fraternities had a common offering, and a common meal. The gild at Gedney has two other typical features: one was the charity to the poor; the second was attendance at funerals.

[1] *A little side-chapel in the parish church of Gedney.*

"When any brother or sister dies, every brother and sister shall come to the funeral with two tapers, and other lights, to accompany the body to the Church, and within 30 days after, the gild shall pay from its common possessions 30*d.* for Masses for the Soul."

But it is another characteristic illustrated by the Gedney Gild that really affected the parish priests—

"And the Brethren shall provide a Chaplain in the Parish Church, and (he) shall celebrate twice a week in the same chapel. . . ."

So the priest got a helper, almost like a modern curate, except that his office was endowed. Often the "chantry priest" kept a free school, and taught reading and writing, singing and Latin.[1] Sometimes he looked after some little outlying hamlet for the priest. Sometimes he helped him by visiting one part of a bustling town; but he was not obliged to help the priest. He often took his salary, sang Mass, ate, drank, and slept. No wonder that overworked priests tried hard to get one of these light posts. And there were many priests who had no parishes and lived on little odd jobs. The pay for single services, now here, now there, made life more possible for them.

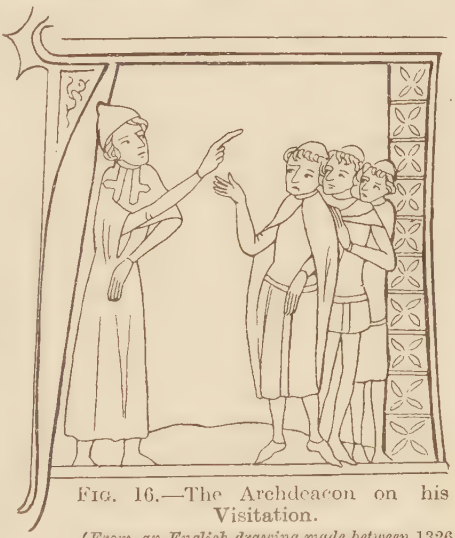

FIG. 16.—The Archdeacon on his Visitation.

(From an English drawing made between 1326 *and* 1350.)

The archdeacon in his long cassock is talking to three men in orders, as their tonsures show. The last two are not in priestly dress. Possibly they may be parish clerks.

The parishioners and their priests were governed by the bishops and their archdeacons. An archdeacon was the deputy

[1] *Winchester and Eton are both chantry schools.*

of the bishop. In the 14th century each see was divided into several archdeaconries. The archdeacons "visited" each parish periodically to inquire from the parishioners how the priest worked. In June, 1301, such a visitation was going on in Colebrooke and in Colyton (Devon) in the see of Exeter. The archdeacon called the parishioners of Colebrooke into the parish church. Then he questioned the leading men. They gave this report—

"The Vicar, Sir William, preaches in his own way, and he explains the Gospels, on Sundays, as far as he knows them. He does not teach us much about the Commandments, or Articles of Faith, or Mortal Sins. . . . His house was well repaired, but now it is all in ruins, except the hall and chamber. His door is so far from his hall, which he has just built out longer, that a man speaking outside is not heard in the Hall, and this is awkward for infirm parishioners."

At Colyton the scene was repeated. There, the parishioners said—

"Our vicar, Sir Robert Blond, is a good man. He preaches as he can, but we think not enough. His predecessors used to call in Friars to teach us about our soul's health, but he loves them not, and if they come he will not have them, nor will he give them food for their wayfaring, and we beg he may be corrected. But all the priests and chaplains[1] are pure and of good life."

Such was the difference between Sir Robert as he should have been and Sir Robert as he was. Often his education was insufficient. Chaucer's parson told the pilgrims a story. It was taken from a book. He said, himself, he told what he had "gathered" of the sense—

"I put it aye under correction
Of clerkës, for I am nat textuel
I take but the sentens."

[I do not follow
word for word,
I catch the drift.]

Yet the book was only in French. This priest was not a great scholar. However, he knew far more than many priests. We know that many read very badly indeed, even from their familiar service books. Perhaps some never read anything else.

[1] *There was an endowed chantry there.*

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And others had worse faults. A very sensible priest told other priests—

"But what and thou so drunken be that thy tongue will not serve thee, then christun not."

Some priests fought and wrestled, both in game and in earnest.

The church guided men to good conduct, but if they would not be guided she punished them, just as royal law courts punished thieves and murderers. The church punished breaches of Christ's law,[1] not the King's; for instance, neglect of the services, drunkenness, adultery, slander.[2] It was the archdeacon who dealt with these cases in his court. The work was extraordinarily difficult. In the first place, many sins are secret. It was so invidious for an outsider to give evidence that a person [3] was allowed to inform the archdeacon privately that so and so had sinned. The archdeacon managed the rest of the affair; the accuser did not appear. Secondly, the archdeacon found it very hard to give a penance with real insight when the sinner was practically unknown to him. So, often, the archdeacon made a fine in money part of the penance.

In spite of his work it was not so much the archdeacon as his summoner whom the 14th-century parishioner hated. When the archdeacon received an accusation he sent him a letter of summons, carried by the summoner. Often the accused could not read; nor could others who were sinners, too. The summoner pulled up at some cottage gate, called for the householder, and said: "See, friend, here is a charge against you—only drunkenness or so!" The man probably had been drunk at some time; he was afraid. "Nay," said the summoner, "give me 3*d.* and I will see to it for you. I get no profit from it, I can tell you!" Finally he let himself be

[1] *As developed by church lawyers.*
[2] *And also disputes about wills and marriages.*
[3] *The duty of churchwardens was to report notorious sinners.*

persuaded to take a nice little brass pot, as the man was short of money. On he went to the door of a well-to-do innkeeper ; he told the man the same tale, " But I am your friend ; I will do my best ; I will get your name struck out of the archdeacon's book ; let us sit down and dine and talk it over." Needless to say what happened. But at last the letter reached the proper recipient. Contemporary charges against summoners are very frequent and monotonous ; again and again they are of this " false behaviour." As to the truth of these charges there is little evidence ; but they show what people were saying. They suggest that archdeacons did not know how summoners were behaving.

Above archdeacons stood the bishop. With his palace by the cathedral, his manor houses, his visits to London, his place in Parliament, his intercourse with barons, nay, even with the King, his splendour in church, the bishop was a great lord in the eyes of the people. He was rather remote from their ordinary concerns.

Further away yet was the Pope. The Pope had something of the vague majesty of God Himself. Everything that came from Rome was coloured with strangeness and sanctity. Englishmen felt this very strongly, and had a strong sentiment for the Pope, their " Father on Earth." But they knew little about him. What little they knew came chiefly through " pardoners."

The Church taught that the Pope could decide that a certain work was so good that all who performed it obtained release from a certain space in purgatory.[1] In the 14th century popes allowed gifts of money for certain purposes to count among such works.

[1] *Stress was laid by wise theologians on the need for absolution and penance before a " pardon " was obtained. The doctrine of " Pardon " needs more explanation than can be given here.*

From time to time an English priest sent word round his parish that a pardoner had come. Next day, at service, the stranger helped the priest, reading clearly and singing sweetly. Then he preached so vividly and so fluently that every one listened. First he told them how he had come from Rome, and he held up the papal letter, or "Bull," which he said empowered him to bestow "pardons" and take offerings. "Bow your heads to this Holy Bull for reverence!" Then he held up royal letters giving him the King's special protection. He gave out his text: "Money is the root of all evil! Accursed sin of avarice! Alas mankind! How may it betide you, that ye are so remiss in giving to your Creator, Who wrought you, and gave you the world!" After several illustrations he leant over the pulpit, "These holy pardons will heal you; come up, wives, and offer; come up, goodmen, by authority of our Lord Pope, I absolve those that offer, and make them clean of sin now, as when they were born!" One man got up; "See I enter your name in my book!" cried the pardoner. People filed up, and pennies and halfpennies tinkled into his box. Meantime he showed off his crystal box containing bits of cloth, bones, and stones. He busily commended each scrap; this one was the shoulder-bone of St. Peter's nephew, that the toe-bone of one of St. Ursula's eleven thousand virgins. The owner of either would be lucky, he said, with his eye upon the rich man's face.

An hour later he was selling pardons in the street to those who had at last made up their minds to give. Later still, he was lying in the sun under a hedge dividing his winnings between his own purse and that which he would pay in to the Pope's chief collector. Thus the pardoner was a degraded figure. Some contemporaries saw this quite clearly. Yet the popular sentiment towards the Pope was not changed.

After the Black Death great difficulties developed in church

life. Immediately after 1349 men of little repute or education were entering the church. The parish priests complained of poverty. We do not really know what caused it. Many priests were driven into avarice. There was a distinct type, the priest who aimed at worldly success. It was against such men, common among the archdeacons and upper clergy, that laymen made satires. But, on the whole, the average Englishman defended his parish priest. Chaucer was typical of his time when he drew a priest, whom every one must have loved, among friars and monks, and summoners and pardoners, whom no one could respect.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
F. Bond ..	Gothic Architecture in England	*B. T. Batsford.*
G. Chaucer ..	The Canterbury Tales. Prologue, and the Prioress' Tale. [Editor: W. Skeat.]	*The Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
G. G. Coulton ..	Chaucer and His England ..	*Methuen.*
J. C. Cox ..	Churchwarden's Accounts. [The Antiquaries Books.]	,,
,, ,,	The English Parish Church ..	*B. T. Batsford.*
F. W. Galpin ..	Old English Instruments of Music. [The Antiquaries Books]	*Methuen.*
F. A. Gasquet [Cardinal]	Parish Life in Mediæval England [The Antiquaries Books.]	,,
C. H. Moore ..	The Mediæval Architecture of England	*Macmillan.*
J. H. Parker ..	Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture	*Parker, Oxford.*
Temple Primers	Gothic Architecture	*J. M. Dent.*
G. M. Trevelyan	England in the Age of Wycliffe	*Longmans & Co.*
H. F. Westlake..	Parish Gilds in Mediæval England	*S.P.C.K.*
	See also the "County Church" series of guides for particular churches	*B. T. Batsford.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONKS AND FRIARS

By 1300 monasteries were dotted all over England; but between 1300 and 1536 less than thirty new monasteries were founded. The greater number of English monasteries belonged to the ancient order of St. Benedict. This old order had given rise to new ones, and, in particular, to the Cistercian Order in 1098, and the Carthusian Order in 1084.[1] The Cistercian monks were beloved in England. They had 108 houses, all founded before 1300. Many were in lonely places, like Tintern, Jervaulx, and Kirkstall. Merchants and travellers praised them. Their houses were safe resting-places among moors and forests. The Carthusian Order was rather different in character. Its monks were the most solitary of all monks. Each monk lived alone in a tiny cottage; around the garth stood as many of these cottages as there were monks. They met in chapel only. Their houses, too, were often in solitudes. In England they only had eight houses. One was the famous London charterhouse.

All these orders drew inspiration from St. Benedict. Long before, about 520 A.D., St. Benedict had laid down a plan of life—

"As the Prophet says, 'Seven times a day have I praised Thee,' we make up that holy number thus: Matins, prime, tierce, Sext, nones,

[1] *The Benedictines of Cluny, another branch order, had great influence abroad. They had less in England, for they were controlled by a French abbot. During the Hundred Years' War their houses were taken into the King's hand, as they were "alien."*

Vespers, Compline.[1] . . . Thus we . . . praise our Creator, and at night we arise to confess Him. . . . Idleness is the enemy of the soul. The brethren must work with their hands at certain times and at other times they must study holy books. From Easter to Oct. 1, from the 1st hour [2] to the 4th, they shall do the necessary work. From the 4th to about the 6th, they shall read. After the 6th hour, rising from table, they shall rest in their beds in silence; if any one wants to read, let him read, as long as he does not disturb the others. After Nones, . . . they shall do the necessary work again until Vespers. But if the nature of the place, or their poverty, compel them to fill up their time getting food, let them not be troubled, for they are then true monks, and in life . . . like the Apostles. . . . Let the brethren serve . . . (a week) . . . in turn; and let no one be excused the work of Cook. . . . If possible let the Monastery be so that all necessary work . . . in mill, garden, and bakehouse . . . can be done within it, so that the monks need not go to markets. . . . Let no one have any property . . . not a pencil, not a pocket-book . . . nothing whatsoever, for these are they whose bodies and wills even are not their own. . . . In a monastery, no one follows the will of his own heart."

All monastic life was to be for the Honour of God. Thus St. Benedict required not a life of the greatest austerity, but a life of reasonable, God-seeking activity; a life of holiness, obedience and chastity, study, poverty, and real work.

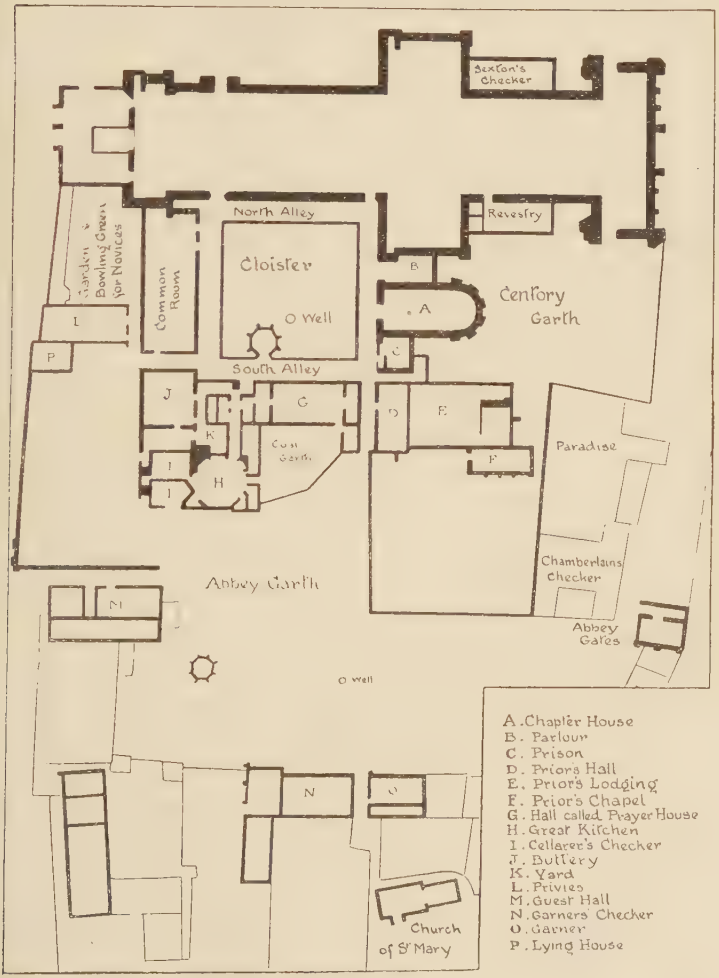
At Durham there was a famous Benedictine monastery. Between 1300 and 1500 there were usually between thirty and fifty monks. Seven times a day they praised God in church. In the kitchen, cooks and scullions bustled about—all laymen getting wages. In the infirmary a paid lay-servant waited on sick monks. In the coalyard lay-carters unloaded wood and coal, and the lay-fireman of the brewhouse wheeled away his fuel. In the malthouse lay-maltsters were parching the grain. Everywhere hard work was being done, and everywhere done by paid lay-servants. Laymen even swept the church. In 1510 the monks paid wages to 102 people.

How, then, did the 14th century monk of Durham spend the morning? He had been up in the night at Matins. He went to

[1] *Matins*, 1.30; *prime*, 6; *tierce*, 9; *Sext*, 12; *nones*, 3; *Vespers unfixed*; *Compline at bedtime. Matins was followed by Lauds, the two making an hour's service. In England in the 14th century Matins was sung at midnight.*

[2] *Six o'clock; the fourth hour, ten, and so on.*

Prime (about 6), morning Mass (about 8.30), a short meeting in



IV.—Plan of Durham Priory.

the chapter-house (about 9), and High Mass (10). Besides, he

washed, breakfasted, had a half-hour's chat before Chapter; and in spare minutes he strolled about, read a little, sat about, perhaps practised singing. Dinner came at 11. After dinner he went into the monks' cemetery to pray, or watched the novices at bowls, or strolled in the garden. Then he went into the cloister for his afternoon's work, reading and meditation. In earlier days the cloisters had been unglazed and cold: now the windows were glazed and very beautiful. In each window stood a seat, with high wooden back and sides, like an old pew. Each had a little door on the cloister side, and a desk for books facing the seat. Against the opposite wall of the cloister were wooden cupboards full of books and manuscripts. Each monk took his place there between 12 and 1, and stayed there until 3. No doubt some slept, others read. But apparently they made little use of their reading. They no longer wrote books, nor developed new thoughts. They paid a schoolmaster to teach in the song school, and another to teach in the grammar school at the abbey gate. The prior went in and questioned the children from time to time.

In earlier days the monks had copied out many books. The monk who was to do the writing received the sheets of parchment loose. He took a little wheel with sharp points like a pastry wheel, and ran it down the page along each side, marking equal spaces. Then he ruled faint red lines across. This he did for many pages. Then he wrote the text with a goose-quill pen that he cut and trimmed himself. He left blank spaces for all the capital letters. Then another skilful brother took the sheets to paint the capitals. He drew the letter first and painted it with cobalt or ultramarine, vermilion, or green. He never mixed one colour with another for shading. He only lightened each by mixing it with white. Often he

gilded the letter. He filled in the part which was to be golden with a very thin layer of a special foreign clay. He cut off a piece of gold leaf, pressed it on the clay, and polished it with an agate. Then the page was handed to a third brother. In the loops of the large capital letters he drew the figure of a saint, or a king, or even a little picture perhaps of a saint doing a miracle.

But now, when monks of Durham wanted books copied or illuminated they paid a copier or a painter from Newcastle to do it. They even paid craftsmen for the binding and repair of books which they could have done easily.

Although St. Benedict forbade private ownership, there were many ways in which a monk at Durham could actually save a little money. He lived cost free. He really only needed money for the offertories. One of the officials paid an allowance to each brother for offertories. Each monk received 20*s*. a year as "wages," with which to buy clothes other than the habit and underclothes which the monastery gave him. A careful man could save out of this. Whenever a monk did anything for the common good—showed the younger monks how to play the organ, or how to blow it, or found texts to be painted on the cloister windows, or wrote out a page of accounts—he was paid handsomely. When a monk became a priest, and celebrated his first Mass, he received a present of 6*s*. 8*d*. And, beside, the various officials paid the brethren sums, apparently as pocket-money.

The officials, or "obedientiaries," as they were called, had a very different day's work from that of the ordinary monk. At Durham, the principal obedientiaries were the Bursar, the Cellarer, the Sacrist, the Keeper of St. Cuthbert's Shrine, the Keeper of the Monks' Common Room, the Guestmaster,

the Chamberlain, the Almoner, and the Master of the Monks' Infirmary.

The cellarer was usually to be found in his office or "checker." It was a stone-vaulted, stone-paved room, with chests ranged round the walls, a trestle table, and, in cold weather, a bright fire. All officials were allowed fires in their offices. The cellarer might be sitting in his great chair, watching a merchant weighing out ginger. The cellarer wore a black cloth gown, with deep cuffs and a tippet of fine lamb's skin. The monastery gave each official a gown; so he saved part of his 20*s*. The cellarer was still busy in the Checker at dinner-time (when his own two servants brought his dinner there), and at church time. Like other obedientiaries, he was excused from most of the services. Like the others, he chose a monk to represent him in church. This monk was called his "vicar," and got 6*s*. 8*d*. or 10*s*. a year from the monastery "for his pains."

The cellarer's domain included the kitchen, buttery, cellar, pantry, and slaughter-house; and he had a garden where leaks and onions grew behind quickset hedges, and pigs grunted in the pigstyes; for the cellarer's work was to see that all the necessary food for every one was duly provided and well served. Every morning he went all through the kitchen and offices, and found out what was wanted, and looked out for repairs. Then he gave out stores, and went out shopping. One day, for instance, in August, 1307, down in the town, he bought butter, and then chose eight salmon, and ordered 80 salted cod, and 300 smelts. He always had to be prepared for sudden demands. Abbots and bishops and knights, going south to York, or north to Berwick, might arrive any evening. There were also many Saints' days to be remembered, for on them the monks had special dishes. On St. Cuthbert's Day (March 20) they had pears and wine. For some goods—almonds

and other spices—the cellarer sent to London. He bought figs and raisins at Newcastle, and dates, and sugar, and ropes of onions. He was often in Darlington, at the fair, buying salt-fish, and at Hartlepool, too, in the ordinary fishmarket. He employed several buyers, or "cators,"[1] as he could not be everywhere himself. Every Saturday all the kitchen servants filed past the cellarer's table to receive their wages. These wages, and the weekly money spent on food, came to large amounts, for instance, in one week about £8. In the year, about £416 3*s.* 2*d.* was spent on food and kitchen wages out of an income of about £1200. Thus the cellarer was "cumbered with much serving."

The almoner was not so busy as the cellarer. In the 14th century he controlled about £90 a year. He kept up the old charities; at Witton Gilbert the hospital for about half a dozen lepers and, in Durham, the hospital (which we should call almshouses) and the infirmary, where eight old people lived,[2] and the charity school. Early in the 16th century the charity school remained, but there were only four old people. The Durham monks did not drop their old charities; but they did not extend them in the least.

Many monks in the large popular monasteries were living as comfortably as the monks of Durham. Against some monasteries graver charges were brought; but the laymen only met the monk when he came out into the world. Laymen saw little of the monastic religious services, so they called monks "lazy and unprofitable." Often they were right.

The orders of begging friars were far more recent than the monastic orders. St. Francis' rule took shape in 1223; St.

[1] Cf. *French, acheter, to pay.*

[2] *And twenty-eight got out-relief. Other monastic officials gave some alms, too, and so might each monk if he liked.*

Dominic's about 1218. Friars, like monks, were to be chaste, obedient, and poor. They were to love "sister poverty," so that they were to be "daily beggars, begging from door to door" if they could not live by their work. Unlike the monks, the friars were to be outside their houses, in the world every day. They were to nurse the sick, to help the poor, to teach all laymen how near God was to them. By 1300 the friars had been established in England some seventy years. They were encamped on bare sites, in little poor dwellings. But by the time of Richard II. contemporary descriptions show how the friars had altered. These descriptions are mostly satirical, but enough evidence exists to show that satirists described what they often saw. From the descriptions of Chaucer, and of other satirists and song-writers, we can picture the journey of a friar.

The friar of St. Francis starts on his begging tour. He is clad in a poor gray gown with cord girdle; he has a staff in his hand, a felt hat, a cape round his shoulders, and a hood hanging down his back. The hood is heavy, bulging; in it are all sorts of little presents—purses, knives, pins, packets of pepper or cloves.

"There is no pedlar that pack can bear, that half so dear, can sell his ware as friar can give it."

Over the friar's shoulder hangs his sack, now lank and empty. His strong brown legs are bare, his robe kilted up through his girdle, his sandals on his feet. He has a brother friar with him. They come to a village, and there they separate. One knocks at the first cottage door. "Devs hic (God be in this house), dear dame! Give us what you will, my sister—a handful of wheat. Have you any brawn or bacon? What you will—we may not choose! Give us what you will. Whatever you give our whole friary will pray for you night and day!" The old dame gives him a halfpenny—the price

of a day's field-work. He picks it up in a fold of his sleeve (for he may not touch money), saying, "Look, dame, I will write down your name so that the brethren will know who to pray for!"

The woman of the next house is too poor to give anything really, but she takes a half-loaf from her store, and, as she gossips with the friar, tells him that yesterday the bailiff dropped down in the field and "is scarce alive at this hour."

Off runs the friar; he wants to persuade the bailiff to put on the friar's gray robe on his deathbed and be buried in the friars' cemetery. Then the friary, not the parish priest, will take the burial fees and the offerings.

This done, the friar enters a good prosperous farm, with unabated high spirits, singing out, "God be in this house, Thomas, my friend!" "Hey, my good master, how have you fared since March began? I have not seen you this fortnight." The friar has laid down his sack, hat, and staff, and driven the cat off the bench by the fire. "Laboured full well," he answers, "in prayer for you and others. Where is our dame?" Just then the rosy dame comes in and cries out, "Welcome are you, by St. John! How fare you, heartily?" "Dame, right well, as he that is all your servant. Yet, as God save me, I saw not to-day in all the church so fair a wife!"

To improve the taste of the meat he gives her a little packet of mace and of pepper. While she is stirring at the fire he says to Thomas, "This would be a good chance, while I am here, for you to confess. Priests are so slow to grope out a conscience tenderly!" "Our priest was here but yesterday," says Thomas; "he is a good parson, and much to my liking. I will as soon confess to that tub as to you!" But when the friar leaves, he has a piece of cloth and some new loaves in

his bag, and the mistress sends a farm servant to carry the sack, and she gives the friar a fourpenny-bit.

* * * * *

Thus the begging friars begged no longer for scraps only. Moreover, they disobeyed St. Francis every time they accepted money. In some friaries, brethren went out in turn no longer. Three or four of them undertook all the begging. Each had a district assigned to him; no other friar entered it, and he kept within its limits. Such a friar was called a "Limitour." This was a change for the worse. The limitour concentrated his energy on working his district for gain, not on working for love of the poor. Sometimes the limitour actually offered the friary a definite sum annually for his district. He kept the surplus.

The friary to which the friar returned laden at the end of his tour was no longer the poor, simple house of the 13th century. It was not, indeed, like the monastery, the centre of a landed estate; but the friars were buying plots of land round their own first site, and building a refectory and dormitories, and a library, and a great church. Laymen laughed at the beggars who built churches like "the Grey Friars," inside Newgate, London—300 feet long and over 80 feet wide. The stained glass windows in it were wonderful. Sir Richard Whittington paid for some of them at great cost.

True, the friars were great preachers. They studied preaching. Friars collected tales suitable for illustrations of sermons, and discussed the best way of using them. Parish priests asked friars to preach for them;[1] and the parishioners learnt more from the friar's sermon than they did from their own mumbling, hesitating priest. In preaching the merit of poverty, however, the friars seem sometimes to have been

[1] *See Chap. VII., Church Life.*

misunderstood They excited vague ideas of communism.[1]

FIG. 17.—Friars Praying at a Tomb in their Church.
(*From a 15th-century illumination.*)
Behind, men and women are going into the Friary Church, and talking to the friars, of whom two are in their priestly robes.

We cannot now recover what they said, or what their hearers

[1] *See Chap. II., The Peasants' Revolt.*

said; but in 1382 they were accused of having caused the Peasants' Revolt.

It was the friars' sermons which made men believe so strongly in the merits of St. Francis. Their preaching caused men to write wills like this one—

"I leave my body to be buried in the Friar's Church, . . . and £10 for glazing the choir windows. I leave my silver-gilt cup for the High Altar . . . and £20 for 6 Friars to say masses daily for my soul's welfare."

In such a case there were no burial fees for parish priest or churchwardens. This was one reason why priests often disliked friars.[1] Secondly, people often gave much to the friars, and very little at the offertory. Thirdly, friars had special leave from the Pope to hear any man's confession, and absolve him. Parish priests certainly resented interference with their most difficult work. The priests were bitter about friars. Yet, though a bad friar was very bad, some friars were still learned, and laboured in their libraries, or in Oxford, or Cambridge; others were still holy and poor. There were not very many friars. For instance, in all Lancashire there were only three houses—Dominicans at Lancaster, Franciscans at Preston, and Friars of another order at Warrington. In big boroughs, such as Newcastle, there were several friaries. Their numbers were necessarily limited by their living upon voluntary contributions. Yet in the 14th century laymen said—

"Friar, why make ye so many new Frairs, to the charge of the people? Rectors and vicars and monks are enough to do the Priest's office!"

On the whole, English laymen sided with their priests, and said with the song-writer—

"Of one thing am I certain, our parish priests, Friars, are less evil than ye!"

[1] *See Chap. VII.*

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
G. Chaucer ..	Canterbury Tales	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
F. A. Gasquet [Cardinal]	Monastic Life. [The Antiquaries Book.]	*Methuen.*
F. A. Gasquet [Cardinal]	The Rule of St. Benedict	*De la More Press.*
A. Jessopp ..	The Coming of the Friars ..	*T. F. Unwin.*
A. G. Little ..	The Gray Friars in Oxford ..	*Oxford Hist. Soc.*
F. Madan ..	Books in Manuscript	*Kegan Paul.*

For particular Monasteries and Friaries, see the Victoria County Histories [published by Messrs. Constable & Co.]

CHAPTER IX

WYCLIFFE AND THE LOLLARDS

In the reign of Henry III. there dwelt at Barnard Castle on the Tees, in Durham, Lord John de Bailliol, lord of Harcourt and Bailleul, in France, of Barnard Castle and other lands in England, and of Galloway in Scotland. It happened that he quarrelled with the Bishop of Durham, but the bishop overcame him. He knelt at the gate of Durham Cathedral, and the bishop beat him with a scourge. Besides, he promised to do some great deed of charity as penance. That which he chose was to buy a house and maintain sixteen poor scholars at the distant university of Oxford. The house became known as Balliol Hall.

Nearly one hundred years later a little boy, John Wycliffe, grew up in the village of Hipswell. It lies a few miles from Barnard Castle. Relations of John Wycliffe lived at the manor house of Wycliffe village, near by, upon the Tees. These people may have known Lord Edward Bailliol, the grandson of Lord John.

About 1345, when John Wycliffe was about fourteen,[1] he went away from his home. We know that he went to Oxford, although there is no direct evidence.

Oxford was then a little walled town lying among marshy meadows, where the Thames and its tributary streams flowed in smooth, shining curves. The rivers were very different from the rushing Tees.

[1] *These dates are conjectural.*

Outside the walls, especially on the northern side, lay

V.—Plan of part of Oxford in 1577–88.

This plan shows the walls, gates, and streets, much as they were in Wycliffe's day. Smith's Gate was at the "Ladies Chappelle," and School-street ran straight up from it. The Divinity School marked on this plan was built in 1480.

already several clumps of houses. One of these was Gloucester Hall, the Benedictine College, to which one or two monks

came from each English benedictine monastery. South of the town stood the Dominican Friary. Trill Millstream flowed by it, was crossed by the "Preachers' Bridge," and turned the wheels of two "Black Friar's Mills." The Franciscan Friary stood higher up Trill Millstream, which turned "Gray Friar's Mill" wheel also.

Outside the wall to the north ran Horsemonger Street. The little windows of the houses looked across the placid town moat on to the stone town wall. Above the wall rose many towers and spires. Eastwards was the Norman keep of the castle. Besides, one could see the towers of St. Peter's in the East, St. Michael, St. Mildred, and other parish churches. Above all, St. Mary's marked the corner where "School Street" met the High Street.

Within the town there was a constant ebbing and flowing of clerks along the narrow streets, and in and out of School Street. Each of the houses in School Street was a "school"; that is, a master hired it and lectured there. From six to twelve o'clock the bells were ringing overhead, and some lecture party was coming out or going in, first the master in his long black cape, then the hustling students with pens and sheets of notes. In one hall a spare Dominican was lecturing on the Psalms to advanced students of thirty. In the next, a fresh young Master of Arts was dictating a page of Priscian's Latin grammar to beginners of fourteen and dullards of twenty.

At this time the students lived all over the town. Every lane and every street had its scholars. One boarded himself with a family; another hired a room and fed himself as cheaply as possible, sometimes perhaps he even ate the charity doles given at monastery gates. Other scholars clubbed together and hired a house. Then they lived under the guidance of one of their number whom they called their "principal." They

called this house their "hall." Often they lived a jolly life, doing just what seemed good to them. For nearly 200 years students had been living in this free way. As yet the university made but few rules for them.

In 1345 there were already six "houses" provided for scholars by rich founders. The names of these were University Hall, Balliol Hall, Merton Hall, Stapledon Hall,[1] La Oriole, and the Queen's Hall.

Balliol Hall and Stapledon Hall were endowed for students of the arts' course. At Stapledon Hall there were twelve places, usually filled by West-countrymen, as the founder had directed. The sixteen places at Balliol Hall were usually filled by North-countrymen, for no reason except that of tradition and local connection. What evidence we have suggests that John Wycliffe went to Oxford to be one of the Balliol scholars.

The hall was at the east end of Horsemonger Street. It still consisted of two or three old houses, bought for the students by the widow of John Bailliol. A new chapel had been built; but the hall was poor, and the living was rough.

Here Wycliffe probably settled down for the seven years' course in arts. Daily he got up about five and heard Mass in the chapel. Then he walked up Horsemonger Street, crossed the bridge by the little Lady Chapel, through "Smith Gate" into School Street. He went with a friend. It was against rules to walk alone.

School Street was the lecture quarter. For the first few days the scholar attended any lectures he liked free of charge. Then he went to the master of his choice and entered himself. He paid 3*d.* or 4*d.* a term to the master.

The lecturer stood at his desk clothed in his long, black

[1] *Exeter College.*

cape. The students sat on benches or on the straw. Often the lecture began in the dark. The raw air blew in, and the day dawned outside. The lecturer was taking a set-book ; sometimes he dictated the text of the book and careful analysis of the main arguments, and comments upon its details. Otherwise he took " quæstiones " or discussions of the ideas expressed in the book. What mattered most to the students, however, was the pace at which he talked. If he went at his natural pace the students' cold fingers could not keep pace. As the scholars like to take down everything, they booed and hissed persistently if he went too fast. Some lecturers aimed only at dictating and explaining all the set-book. Unless the student wrote down the book himself he had no copy. Here and there a lazy master wrote down all he had to say and let one student dictate it.

The lecture lasted from an hour to two hours. Then the students moved on to another lecture-room and lecturer.

Those who had had no breakfast were hungry enough by eleven o'clock. They hurried back to Balliol and hung about in the hall till dinner was ready. The master sat in the middle place at the long table. He was the ruler of the hall. He was elected by the students from among themselves. First grace was said ; if any one helped himself before it was done the master fined him. Then dinner began. The food was as good as could be got, considering that the founder had only allowed 8*d*. a head a week. Sometimes, perhaps, they had broth in which beef had been boiled, stirred about with oatmeal, and then the boiled beef, and bread, and beer to drink. On fast days they had the cheaper kinds of fish.

At supper they probably had much the same. These were the only two meals provided. The master, about 1345, was Hugh of Corbridge, a Northumbrian. If he heard an English word instead of a Latin one at dinner he fined the speaker.

If the latter would not pay the master ordered him to have his dinner alone, last, next day. He stopped quarrels ; he dealt with shirkers. Besides, he looked after the finance and business of the house.

After dinner the students went off again to School Street ; but the afternoon lectures were not so important as the morning ones. Less experienced teachers gave them. Once a week the students all attended an open debate in their hall. It was managed according to rules by the master. Under his training young students became so argumentative that their lay friends could not always bear their company.

After four years Wycliffe must have taken his degree of B.A. ; and, after a further course of three years, his M.A., which entitled him to teach any of the subjects he had studied. His degree also made him a full member of the university. It was the Masters in Arts, in Theology,[1] in Law,[1] and in Medicine,[1] who made up the "university." They met regularly at St. Mary's Church to decide how the work was to be carried on, and also to make rules for the students. They were beginning to do this more and more, especially for the students who lived freely in lodgings, and not in a "hall." After becoming an M.A., Wycliffe had to teach for a year. Such was the university rule. Apparently, he made an excellent teacher ; but what was he to do next ? Wycliffe wanted to become a trained theologian, and the theological course was only open to M.A.'s ; but the course in theology was a nine years' course. The next thing we know for certain is that soon after 1356 the Balliol scholars chose Wycliffe to be master. Now, the care of the college gave Wycliffe no time for theology ; yet it was certain questions in theology which kept rising in his mind and demanding answers. In 1361, therefore, he resigned, and accepted a Balliol living.

[1] *Masters in these subjects were called "doctors."*

He was given another living as well. After paying two vicars he could still afford to live and study at Oxford. For the next six years his work was to attend lectures on the Bible, and the writings of St. Augustine and other Fathers. Then, for two years, came constant disputations on questions arising out of the books. Then came the last two years,[1] one in which Wycliffe lectured on the Bible, the other in which he lectured on main beliefs. At last, in 1372, he preached his public sermon in St. Mary's, argued in the last public disputations, and received the license to teach theology, which made him a Doctor of Theology. In the next three years Wycliffe was teaching Theology to young Masters of Arts. Many grew devoted to him. They adopted his thinking. They even adopted his rule of life. He sent them out in pairs to preach in villages round. Meantime, Wycliffe was beginning to be widely known. He preached in London sometimes. At last, in 1374, Wycliffe left his little world of School Street and Balliol Hall. The King employed him, and, as a reward, gave him the living of Lutterworth.

But, in mind, Wycliffe was still struggling with questions about the real value of the Church as he saw it around him. He had long thought that the work of the parish priests was spoilt, because they cared too much about their incomes. As early as 1368 he saw but one remedy : " No priest ought to hold any property," he wrote. Then he praised the friars for their Holy Poverty. Later, he saw, and said, that the friars had quite lost their Holy Poverty. But if the friars and the poor parish priests were blamable for their possessions, how much more so were the rich bishops and deans, and, most of all, the Pope himself.

As Wycliffe grew older he asked himself, what was the essential thing in earthly life ? And he answered that the

[1] *Wycliffe seems to have taken an extra year.*

only real thing in life was goodness.[1] A good man was like God, and so, being full of God's spirit, was naturally a priest.

It was for these opinions that Wycliffe was summoned before the Bishop of London in February, 1377. But John of Gaunt protected him. In March, 1378, the Bishop of London again called him before him. But the people of London made a tumult, so that the bishop dared not go on then. Nevertheless, in 1379, Wycliffe was forced to leave Oxford. He went to Lutterworth, and lived there as the parish priest. In 1382 he heard that the archbishop and a council of bishops had condemned his thinking as heresy.[2]

Wycliffe's real interest lay in the work that absorbed him at Lutterworth. He was trying to bring the life of knowing and doing good within reach of his lay contemporaries. It was not so far from the learned. What they needed was the Bible. The Bible [3] then in use was an ancient Latin translation from the Greek original. Greek had long since been forgotten. But Wycliffe's friends in Oxford divided the work of translation from the Latin Bible.[4] About 1382 the English Bible was complete.

The translation is not always word perfect. His rendering of Matt. ii. 1 can be compared with that of the Revised Version—

"Therefore, when Jhesus was born in Bethlem of Juda, in the days of King Herode, loo! Kyngis camen from the Este to Jerusalem sayinge, Where is he that is borun Kynge of Jewis? Forsothe we

[1] *Wycliffe said that bad men were "unreal," and that consequently they could have no true power, even to hold property. Very carefully he explained that this was only in God's sight. But ignorant men who heard this sometimes misunderstood it to mean that they might take a man's goods if they thought him bad. This has sometimes misled historians into saying that Wycliffe's teaching encouraged the Peasants' Revolt.*

[2] *This was because, about* 1380, *Wycliffe had begun to teach that in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine were unchanged in themselves.*

[3] *See Chap. VII.*

[4] *Wycliffe inspired the work and may have supervised it.*

have seyn his sterre in the este and we comen for to wirshipe hym. Sothelye Kyng Herode herynge was trubled and al Jerusalem with hym. And he, gedrynge togidre alle the princes of prestis and scribis of the peple, enquiride of hem, wher Crist shulde be borun. And they seiden to him, in Bethlem of Juda, for it is written bi a prophete, and thou Bethlem, in the land of Juda thou art not the leste in the Prince of Juda, for of thee a duk shal gon out that shal governe my peple of Yrael."

Purvey, Wycliffe's secretary, began to revise at once. About 1397 Purvey finished the second Bible. Many copies were made. Many great people bought them: Duke Thomas, of Gloucester; Duke Humfrey, of Gloucester; Henry VI., and Henry VII.

To the unlearned knowledge must be brought by preachers. Wycliffe wrote—

"There must be a humble and homely proclamation of the gospel, in which the true teacher must address himself to the heart, so as to flash the light into the spirit of the hearer and to bend his will into obedience to the truth."

To find the men to do this was Wycliffe's work until his death in 1384. Thus, the "Poor Preachers" began to go out from Lutterworth.[1]

We can reconstruct the journeys of the preachers in imagination.

The two preachers walked along the country lanes, staff in hand, red gowns, stained and faded, flapping round their shins, leather pouches slung over their shoulders. They entered a village and asked their way to the priest's house. The priest took them to the church and allowed the parish clerk to announce from door to door that a sermon would be preached at midday. Or the priest said he would not have anything to do with them. Then they stood in the street and preached.

The preacher spoke very clearly and distinctly. He spoke seriously and plainly about the good deeds of daily life.

[1] *Bishops' records and chroniclers' accounts have preserved pictures of the Poor Preachers. Henry of Knighton, a Leicester chronicler, evidently knew the local Wycliffites well.*

Ordinary living had a fresh importance to his hearers after the preacher had preached and passed on. The sermon was something like this—

"No man can be well pleasing to God who does not hold to God's law. Where is God's Law? Where but in the Bible, or rather the gospels. To feed the flock spiritually without Bible truth is as if one were to prepare for another a bodily meal without bread. Because we are starving for this truth and because we have no love, we sin."

Here the preacher touched on all manner of sin, and on false priests, traitors to God, who do not show the people the law of Christ—

"Earnest belief in this should stir men from sin and draw them to virtue. For if they were to-morrow to answer before a judge to win large rents or to lose them they would full busily think of what they were to say, and how much more if they should lose their lives. . . . Lord! Since we be certain of the judgement day that it shall come to us, and we know not how soon, and there we shall have judgement of heavenly life, or else of deep hell that shall last for evermore, how busy should we be to make ready for this. Certes, default of belief is the cause of our sloth. Therefore should we fasten in us the articles of the truth, for they grow loose in us as nails in a tree, therefore it is needful to knock and make them fast. No man can become well pleasing to God who does not hold God's law."

After the sermon the preacher talked to the people. One man asked, "Can we only learn God's law from the Bible? For the Holy Father, the Pope, and our bishop, and our priest tell us what to do." "Sir," says the preacher, "would you ask that child what the custom of the manor is, rather than your oldest men? Will you not learn from Christ Himself, rather than from priests of our own day?" "But if the law of God is only in the Gospel, how can we come at it?" "Therefore you need good preaching priests to bring the law." Then he unbuckled his pouch and began to pass sheets of parchment, covered with writing, among the crowd. "Take these home and read them; may the law of Christ keep you," he said. Here and there a man who could read spelt out the English headlines to the others: "How men shall find priests," "Of good preaching priests," "Of the Commandments," "On the

Apostles' Creed," "On the Lord's Prayer." These were leaflets written in English by Wycliffe for the poor. Then the preacher took his staff, buckled his bag, and plodded off.

After the preachers had gone a few men joined, to meet on Sunday afternoons and other times, to read the tracts aloud. Most of them were fairly well-to-do tenants. In the towns most of them were craftsmen. They lent one another tracts and copies of parts of Wycliffe's Bible which they copied again for themselves in slow, stiff handwriting. Sometimes they scattered them in the inn yards of the town, or in the market-place, so that other men might get them. Some hired a large room in a tavern, and met there. Those who could read taught the others. They began to spell out the English Gospel for themselves. From time to time poor preachers [1] came, and were welcomed in by the congregation with joy.

The bishop of each see knew that he must check and punish the preachers and their people, for Wycliffe had been condemned as a heretic in 1382. He had the right to try a heretic and to imprison him until he confessed his errors. But he had one great difficulty: he had no police to track out and take a heretic. Besides, if the preacher went away into another diocese the bishop could do no more. The bishop of the second see might hear nothing about him for years.

Because of this difficulty Parliament passed an important Act in 1382. This Act ordered the sheriffs to make arrests of "such preachers and others" for the bishops.

Nevertheless, for a whole generation, the Wycliffes were able to pray, and preach, and read. They became very numerous. During this time they received the nickname of

[1] *The routes of the preachers are not known. Certain districts were taken from* 1380: *the district round Leicester and Coventry; the district of Bristol and Hereford; the districts of Norwich, of St. Albans, of London, and of Oxford.*

"Lollard," of which the meaning is uncertain. About 1401, however, their condition changed. Wycliffe himself was dead long ago, in 1384. By 1401 many who had known him were dead also. The poor preachers disappeared by about 1407.

King Henry, the new king, had many rebels to deal with. He thought the Lollards might also rebel against him. He

Fig. 18.—The King of England.

The king listening to a messenger, who holds a mace in his hand as a sign of office. On the banner the arms of France are quartered with those of England. So the drawing must have been made after 1340.

knew, too, that the bishops found their powers ineffective against them. In 1401 Parliament passed the Act, De Haeretico Comburendo. This Act directed that when a bishop had tried a man and found him to be a heretic, then—

"the Sheriff of the County, or . . . Mayor . . . of the City, . . . shall receive the same persons, and them before the people in an high place do [1] to be burnt, that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of others."

Between 1401–1407 there were actually many burnings

[1] *Cause.*

under this Act. Londoners saw the stake and the faggots burning in Smithfield. After 1407 the numbers sank very quickly, but from time to time, throughout the 15th century, such trials for heresy took place. Lollards grew very careful, and hid themselves ; but, nevertheless, Wycliffite teaching went on. Secret, small congregations continued to read the Wycliffite Bible. Though the movement is very hard to trace, yet there were still Lollards in England in the early part of the 16th century.

Book List.

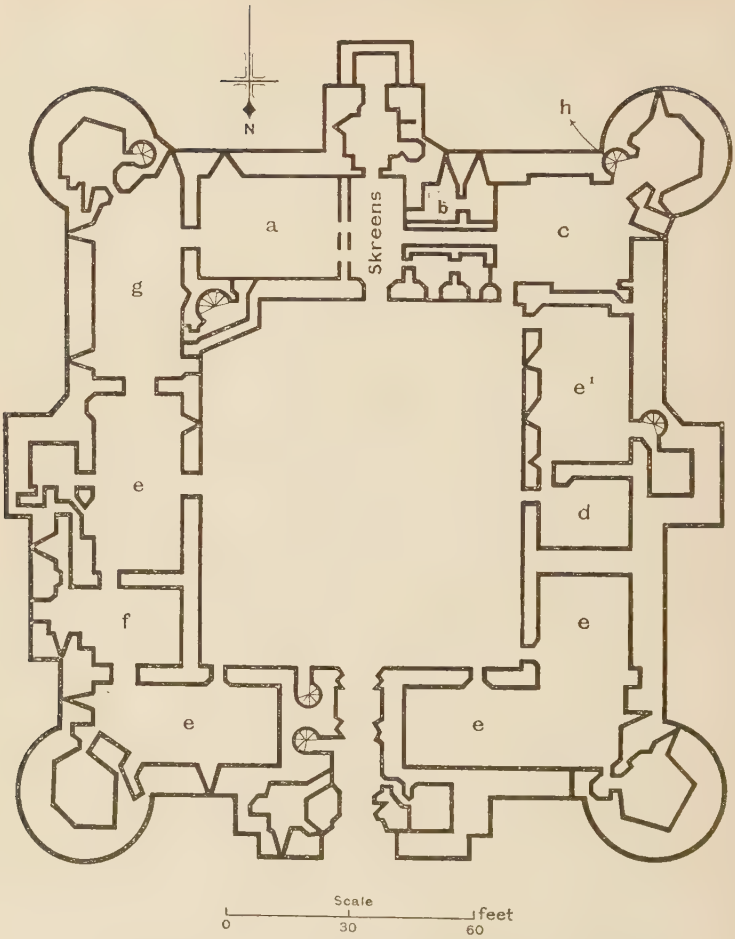
Author.	Title.	Publisher.
M. Deanesly ..	The Lollard Bible	*Cambridge Univ. Press.*
J. Gairdner ..	Lollardy and the Reformation in England	*Macmillan.*
R. S. Rait ..	Life in the Mediæval University [Camb. Manuals of Sci. and Lit.]	*Cambridge Univ. Press.*
G. M. Trevelyan	England in the Age of Wycliffe	*Longmans & Co.*

CHAPTER X

LIFE OF CASTLE AND MANOR

To illustrate the life of the castle and manor house in the 14th and 15th centuries, two plans derived from existing ruins have been given on pp. 136. 137. Plan VI. is that of Bodiam Castle (Sussex), built by Sir Edward Dalyngrugge in 1386. It has certain points typical of its time. In the first place, the rooms are arranged around the fortress walls. In the second place, Bodiam has the rooms, usually found in a castle, placed in the usual positions. It has the great hall, with three arched doors leading to the buttery, the chapel, the armoury and towers, each containing three rooms, reached by a "corkscrew" stair. In the third place, there were two storeys everywhere except above the hall and the kitchen. The upper storey contained chambers, mostly bedrooms for servants and guests. In all these ways Bodiam Castle resembles the castles of Edward I., such as Conway Castle. Men were still building upon plans derived from them.

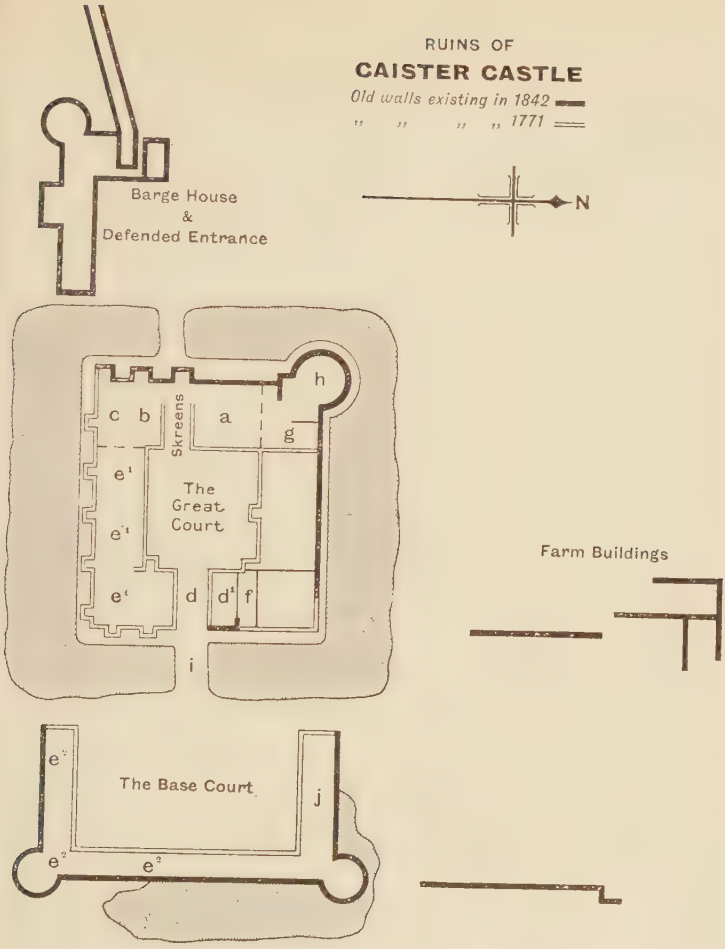
Plan VII. shows the ruins of Caister Castle, three miles north of Yarmouth, begun by Sir John Fastolf about 1434. Caister Castle, too, has certain points typical of its time. The rooms are still arranged round fortress walls, but there are two courts, thus increasing the accommodation for the household, which was increasing in size. Secondly, the main rooms—great hall, buttery, kitchen, and the rest—are still similar to those at Bodiam; and, again, there is an upper storey. At Caister



a *Great Hall.*
b *Buttery*
c *Great Kitchen.*
d *Kitchen.*
e *Chambers & Offices.*
e¹ *Chamber above was the small Winter Hall, reached by going up the Tower stairs* (h) *and through the first floor room in the Tower.*
f *Chapel.*
g *Armoury.*

The Round Towers have a basement and 3 storeys, the Square Towers a basement and 2 storeys. The basements may have been storerooms, the upper chambers, bedrooms and wardrobes.

VI.—Plan of Bodiam Castle.



Possible placing of some of the rooms mentioned in 1459.

a *Great Hall.*
b *Buttery.*
c *Great Kitchen.*
d d¹ *Porters room and Chamber next to it.*
e e e *Chamber for strangers, Great Chamber, White Chamber, the Summer Hall.*
e² e² e² *Chambers :—Cooks', Gardeners'. Bocking's, John Fitz Rauf's.*
f *Chapel*
g *Armoury.*
h *The Tower Parlour, or Tresory, or withdrawing room.*
i *Drawbridge with rooms above.*
j *Stables with servants' beds in them.*

The Tower had 5 storeys. Very probably Fastolf's chamber was above the Tower Parlour, his wardrobe next door ; Lady Fastolf's room next on N. side On the 2nd storey of the Great Court were other bedrooms.

VII.—Plan of Caister Castle.

the number of rooms was very large. The castle is evidently meant for a large household in permanent residence. Like Bodiam, Caister Castle is surrounded by a moat; it is a fortress. The number of such houses, large and yet defensible, was increasing in 1434. The reason for this will appear below.

Life in such a castle as Caister had a splendid setting. Barons and ladies took great pleasure in rich, beautiful things—in silver cups, glowing with enamel, in jewels, in stuffs inwoven with gold; and year by year they obtained more of these things. The household service grew more elaborate; the lord and lady were waited on by many different attendants, trained for special *rôles*, all clad alike in blue and orange, or jackets "as red as blood." But along with this increase in splendour and comfort within the castle went increasing lawlessness outside it. These are the causes which led inevitably to the Wars of the Roses. It is with these changes that this chapter deals.

A happy chance,[1] enables us to imagine the life led in Caister Castle about 1452.

We have entered the great court, marked on the plan. Somewhere near a smith is working, for we can hear the hammer going. Sitting in the sun some men are cleaning armour in their shirt-sleeves. These are some of Sir John Fastolf's soldiers—bowmen and men-at-arms, to whom he pays regular wages. On their doublets, lying on the grass, is embroidered his badge, the silver plume. One or two of them were with him in France in 1413, and fought at Agincourt; some fought at Pathay in 1429, when Fastolf was told, "The battle is lost for us!" and answered, "I would rather be dead or a prisoner than fly and leave my men!"

On the grass plot Master Thomas Gower is teaching a boy

[1] *This chance is the survival of letters, written by friends and servants of Fastolf. The letters are printed under the title "The Paston Letters."*

how to use a sword. He has a wooden sword or "whifle" in his hand. Gower is one of Fastolf's squires; two other squires, two brothers, John and Robert Inglose, are looking on. The boy is Fastolf's nephew, John FitzRalph, in training to be a squire in time. Both he and the Ingloses are young men who will inherit estates; not so Thomas Gower, nor the senior squire, Matthew Gough. But Gough is one of the few men for whom Fastolf cares. He has specially named him in his will; Fastolf's chantry priests are to sing for Gough's soul, along with his master's. Gough has been all through the French wars with Fastolf. Both he and Gower have been made squires because of their value, not because of their birth.

Gough is now at work in a large chamber whose door opens into the court.[1] It is the armoury. Placed on stands are suits of armour and leathern jackets for archers. On the shelves are helmets of different patterns, each with a history. On the floor lie twenty-one bows and three great crossbows, and eight sheafs of arrows winged with swan's feathers. The "quarrels," or arrows for crossbows, are kept in a box. Two spare chains for the drawbridge lie in a heap. There are three cannon—probably very small ones, with round stone shot lying beside them. These guns must have been still very novel when Sir John brought them from France in 1440.

Just by the chapel, but on the first floor,[2] is the room of the priest, Sir[3] John Kirtling. He sings Mass daily in the chapel, and all the household go. He is parish priest of Arksey, in Yorkshire, but he hardly ever goes there. He is too busy, for he is Sir John's "receivor"; he takes the rents and examines the accounts of all the stewards of all Fastolf's manors. He pays all Fastolf's soldiers and servants. Then he

[1] *See Plan.* [2] *See plan.*
[3] *Priests were given the knight's title by courtesy.*

gives Fastolf the balance. There is always a balance ; at his death Fastolf has £2643 in cash.

Kirtling goes over to the back court, for he has to ride to Norwich on law business for his master, and Nicolas Bocking is going with him ; and Bocking's room is in the back court. Bocking is a lawyer—a black-haired, black-eyed Irishman. He manages Fastolf's lawsuits, of which there are dozens. For Fastolf is a quarrelsome man, and also he has many tenants who do not always behave properly, and there are many men who think they have claims against Fastolf.

They must speak a word first to John Rafman. Rafman is the " Seneschal of the Household "—the manager of everything, under Sir John. He holds all the courts of the manors ; sees to household work, appointments, feeding, and hundreds of other things. They look for Rafman in his own room, on the first floor, in the front quadrangle ; and then, just by, in the auditor's room. Two auditors are always at work, for the accounts of so great an estate are very complicated ; they are working at a folding table near the window. On the other side of the room are two mattresses, placed side by side, so that one long bolster, one coverlet, one bedhead, and one canopy, do for the two auditors. Rafman is not there. He has gone to the hall, for dinner-time is drawing on.

The hall is long, and wide, and high. It runs up to the height of the first floor, and has no chambers above it. In the body of the hall the lower part of the wall is covered with hangings ; about the middle is worked a giant with a bear's leg in his hand ; and above hang eleven crossbows and twenty spears. On the hanging of the west wall is shown the siege of Falaise. Sir John was there with Henry V. at the siege of 1417–18. Perhaps Sir John looks at it with pride sometimes. Little does he think that Caister will be besieged in its turn ! In the middle of the back wall shows a wild

man wreathed with leaves with a little child in his arms. In one of the long walls there is a great stone fireplace. The old fashion was to have the stone hearth in the middle of the floor. In the 15th century many people still have it so, for, they say, every one can stand round and have a warm up.

There is another new arrangement, too, which some people mislike. It is nearly twelve ; menservants put up long tables down the middle of the hall, lay cloths, and set on trenchers ; but they leave the dais. On the dais stands Sir John's arm-chair, with a cushioned back and arms, a second green-covered armchair, and a long bench with a padded, tapestry-covered back. These things look down rather vacantly into the hall, where the whole huge household comes bustling in for dinner. John Rafman looks in to see that all is well ; dinner begins, bread is broken, gravy poured out, ale flows.

Sir John and Lady Fastolf will have dinner with Sir John Kirtling and the squires in the summer hall—a pleasant room, panelled perhaps, with two long tables, one for Sir John and one for Lady Fastolf. The squires will carve, and John FitzRalph and the other pages will hand the silver plates and pour out the wine into silver standing cups enamelled with Fastolf's motto, " Me faut faire "—" I must be doing." The meal will be stately, perhaps not too comfortable, for Sir John is a formidable man.

Sir John's own room is a very pleasant one. Its walls are hung with green worsted hangings. The bed has green worsted curtains. It has two feather-beds, and a bolster, blankets, sheets, and a counterpane, with an embroidered figure of a lady holding a hawk. In a corner stands the stick used to beat up the feather-beds. In a corner, too, there is a little low bed for the servant who sleeps there at night. A coffer, covered with a rich cloth, stands against the wall, and on it there shines a silver dish and a tall cup for the morning draught

of wine. The two benches by the fireplace have embroidered covers on the backs, and white cushions. There are scores of such covers and cushions in Sir John's wardrobe next door. Round the walls stand presses and chests full of his clothes: gowns of cloth of gold, of velvet, of satin, in colour blue,

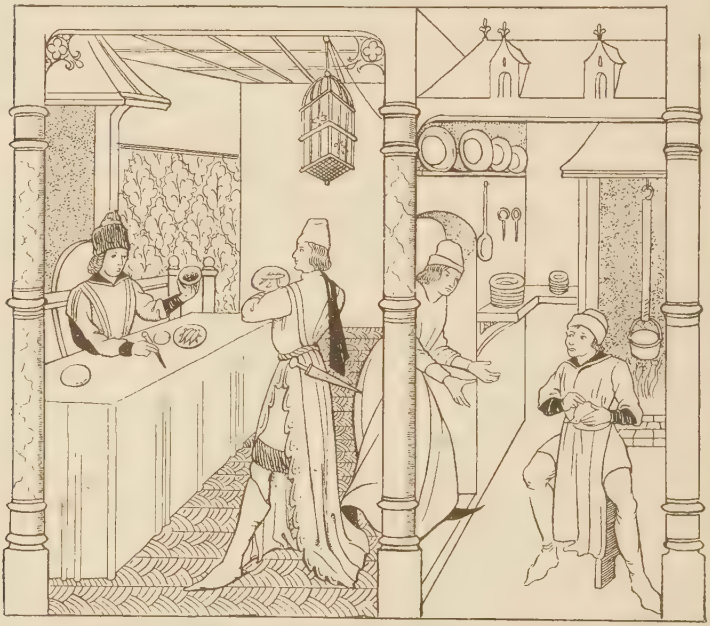


FIG. 19.—Hall and Kitchen, with the Lord at Table

(*From a 15th-century illumination.*)

The lord is waited upon by his squire. A servant fetches the dishes from the kitchen, passing through the arched entrance to the hall called "the skreens." (See Plans on p. 3 and pp. 136, 137.)

mulberry, black; doublets and jackets, hoods and cloaks, furs, hats, and Sir John's robes of the Order of the Garter. There are great bales of stuff: satin, velvet, damask, cloth, linen, pillows and coverlets, bolsters, curtains, hangings; pots, candlesticks, brass dishes stand on the floor. Some of

the brass is French work, the spoil of Meulan or Coursay. Several coffers with heavy locks hold plate, of which Sir John has 3400 ozs. Some, however, has been sent to an abbey for safety.

The sitting part of the bedroom is round the fire. In the hearth are two firedogs, with tongs and bellows, and a chafing

FIG. 20.—Nobleman and Lady.
(*From a 15th-century illumination.*)

The nobleman wears the long gown, lined with fur, which came into fashion about 1490. The large purse was called a gypser. It was worn by Chaucer's Frankeleyn a hundred years before. The lady's dress is in the fashion of about 1480.

dish to keep Sir John's wine hot at night. At the bed's foot is the heavy locked money-box, in which precious jewels lie beside coined gold in the dark.

This room is almost the most comfortable in the castle. But the best room is Lady Fastolf's room next door. She has two maids sleeping with her; and her chief woman,

Margaret, lies next door, beside her lady's wardrobe. Lady Fastolf brought her husband large estates, and so she ought to be kept according to her rank.

Sir John sits in his bedroom, as every one did then. It is the room, too, in which, in 1459, he will die, surrounded by men who want his property. Turned towards the fire he sits in his armchair, wrapped in his blue velvet gown and fur collar, dictating to his secretary, William Worcester. When Worcester was a boy Sir John sent him to Oxford. He is a tonsured clerk, and wears a long, dark cassock. He likes to travel and gossip, and bears his master a secret grudge for paying him little and treating him harshly.

Sir John has just heard that a parson has fished in a pond of his. He dictates a letter to his steward, "I desire that John Buck, parson of Stratford, who fished my tanks . . . and was always against me, may be indited" (accused by the jury before the king's judges). This is characteristic of him. He grinds down his tenants and crushes his enemies; he is "cruel and vengeful and without mercy and pity." He is the man who has ruled in Normandy for England, and has fought against Joan of Arc; he is a terrible old man. But the end of all his hardness and money-making is to be the foundation of a great chantry; after his death his castle at Caister is to be given over to soft-footed priests and poor old folk, who shall sing and pray perpetually for his soul's peace.

If Sir John had been other than he was he could not have held his great estates together. For, since 1337, a great change had been gradually reshaping the lives of nobles and knights and making them richer, but much more lawless. Two broad influences had brought this about. One was the Hundred Years' War; the other was the concentration of estates in the hands of a few great families.

The Hundred Years' War began in 1337. At the beginning

of the war some knights went "beyond sea" for a little time only; others spent the whole prime of their lives in France. As the war went on, many knights spent the greater part of their lives abroad. Fastolf was in France from 1413 to 1440. These knights made fortunes. They did so in four ways.

First, Edward III. soon found that he could not carry on the French war with the old feudal force. He could not use troops which were only bound to serve for forty days, nor could he use a force of knights only. He wanted archers. First he tried using selected men, chosen by his commissioners from the county militias. It was every man's duty to serve in those days; so this force was not professional, but conscript. As the war went on Edward used a different system, which gave him practically a professional army, recruited from volunteers. Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., and the three Henrys raised their armies by "Indentures of War." These indentures were contracts each one made between the King and a knight for the knight himself, and also for the soldiers whom the knight himself enlisted.

Sir John Fastolf worked under such a contract with Henry V. His own contract is lost; but we know it was for himself, ten men-at-arms, and thirty archers. No doubt it resembled the following one made between Henry V. and John Horsey three months before the King sailed for France and for Agincourt:—

"This indenture, made between our Lord the King and John Horsey, Esquire, witnesseth that the said John Horsey is bound to our Lord the King with the men of his retinue to serve him for one year. . . .

"And the said John shall have with him 3 archers . . . and if he goes to France he shall have for the wages of himself 12 deniers, and of the said archers 6 deniers a day . . . and the said John shall keep the said archers well mounted, armed and arrayed, as belongs to their estate to do therein their part, on the first day of July next, and from then after their arrival in the parts beyond the sea. And the said

John shall have shippage for himself, his retinue, their horses, harness, and vitailes, and also re-shippage."[1]

Knights made money in a second way. The King, or the commander, made presents to knights who had distinguished themselves. The Black Prince crippled himself by giving land and money to knights when he ought to have paid his tradespeople.

Thirdly, all that a man could carry away from an enemy place was his own. In 1356, after Poitiers, the army of the Black Prince marched past Roye—

"without making any attempt on it, for they were so laden with gold, silver, jewels, and great prisoners that they did not attack any fortress."

Their only aim, a usual one at the end of a campaign, was to get to the port, Bordeaux, whence their spoil could be shipped to England.

Fourthly, a knight made a great deal by his prisoners, who paid him ransom. This is why Henry V. ended his contract with John Horsey, as follows:—

"And if it should happen that the Adversary of France, or any of his sons, nephews, uncles, cousins Germane . . . or any leader . . . be taken by the said John or any of his archers, our Lord the King shall have the said adversary . . . or other, and shall make a reasonable agreement with him who took him. . . . And touching other profits of the gains of war, our Lord the King shall have the third part of the gains of the said John, and a third of a third of the men of his retinue, as—the gains of prisoners, money, gold, silver, and jewels above the value of 10 marks" (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*).

In 1424 Fastolf captured the Duke of Alençon, and in 1431 the Duke of Bar, beside many of less rank. He put a stained glass window in a church to commemorate the capture of Alençon, even though he had great difficulty in getting paid by the Crown his share of the ransom.

There was a second influence at work upon the great nobles. It was the deliberate policy followed by the greater

[1] *Great lords made similar indentures with knights and soldiers.*

English nobles, and imitated by all the gentry : the policy of marrying heirs with heiresses to accumulate land. Under feudal law, a father controlled the marriage of his son, while under twenty-one, and a guardian that of his ward. The way in which this power was used to accumulate vast estates is shown by the descent of the Nevilles—

John Neville, lord of Raby, whose family had acquired by marriage many manors in Durham, Yorkshire, and other counties.
Ralph Neville, made first Earl of Westmoreland in 1397 = Joan Beaufort (2nd wife), daughter of John of Gaunt, who gave her lands in Yorkshire.

...chard, became Earl of Salisbury in 1428.	= Alice, heiress of the great Montacute family, Earls of Salisbury, with lands in Hants and Wilts.	3 sons.	Catharine = Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.	Eleanor = Percy, Earl of Northumberland.	Anne = Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.	Cicely = Richard, Duke of York.	
...chard, became Earl of Warwick in 1449.	= Anne, heiress of the great Beauchamp family, Earls of Warwick; her mother was heiress of the Despensor family with lands in the Midlands and Wales.						Edward IV.

The result of this policy in this family is seen on the map.

From the end of the reign of Edward III. results of these influences were appearing more and more plainly. The fighting knight and the great baron each brought something new and bad into English life ; the knight was used to violence, and the baron had money and means far greater than any one had had before. From these two influences arose two customs of monstrous importance, those of livery and maintenance.

Livery really means something which is "delivered" or given. The custom was this : the lord gave his dependent some article of dress to show that he was in his service. Sometimes the "livery" was a hat, or a scarf. Often it was a badge, like Fastolf's plume, embroidered or moulded in silver like a service badge. Throughout England men knew the Bear and Ragged Staff of Neville, the Talbot

(Spaniel) of Shrewsbury, the White Lion of York, the Portcullis of Somerset, the Swan of Essex. The King and the greatest nobles, like the Duke of Norfolk, could afford to give whole gowns as liveries.

VIII.—Sketch map showing the districts in which the estates of Richard, Earl of Warwick, were concentrated.

This custom of livery took two forms: first, the lord naturally gave his livery to his "household men" or "meyney," the soldiers who lived in his castle. A letter written in January, 1454, says [1]:—

[1] "*Paston Letters*," *vol. i., No.* 195.

"The Duke of York will be at London on Friday next, and he will come with his household meyney, well-appointed and likely men. And the Earl of March [1] cometh with him, but he will have another fellowship of good men that shall be at London before him, and such arms as they shall have shall come to London with them, or before them, in carts."

The great earls and lords took more and more men permanently into their service. A Neville had served a Percy as early as 1331. But now the usage became common. Like the King, the great lords now relied, not upon their tenants who owed them knight service, but upon their liveried households. No sheriff, with his under-bailiff, could carry out any act which a great lord did not like.

The other form of the custom was quite as dangerous. Lords gave their liveries to gentlemen and farmers who never meant to come and live permanently with the lord. They lived on their lands and farms; but when the lord came into their shire they rose up and went in their gowns or with their badges to attend him. A mere lawyer, of Norwich, one John Heydon, had a livery-man of his living as far away as Herringfleet, just over the boundary of Suffolk.[2] The Duke of Norfolk wanted to appear in state in 1469, and he sent his gowns, of dark blue and dark tawny, to various gentlemen. He did not send one to John Paston, of Paston, on the coast; and Paston was rather offended at the slight.[3] His father, John Paston, rich gentleman though he was, had worn Fastolf's badge.

The second custom was called "Maintenance." When a man had taken a lord's livery he supported or "maintained" the lord's cause in lawsuits. The lord maintained his man's cause in the courts. As juror, as onlooker, by influence, by bribe, or by violence, the lord and the man helped the one the other, and very often they helped one

[1] *His son, later Edward IV.*

[2] "*Paston Letters*," *No.* 154.

[3] *Ibid. ii. No.* 612.

another outside the courts as well as inside them. The shire of Norfolk provided many examples of this custom. Fastolf was a great maintainer. Once when the King's judges were coming to Lynn he wrote to a priest who was one of his men of business—

"I will that ye do purvey of good friends . . . that pass on juries,[1] that they may wait on you . . . at Lynn, and other such trusty men as you can get to speed my lawsuit. And that ye do them good cheer, and cost, . . . as the case may require. . . . Let it not be forgotten."

Fastolf's great friend, John Paston, was also a friend of the Earl of Oxford. Once a tenant of the earl was sued by a butcher at Norwich. The earl was not at Norwich, but Paston was, so the earl sent his man with a letter: "I send to you my said tenant . . . to give you clear information . . . and I pray you that you will call the jury before you, and open the matter to them at large at my instance" (request). The earl was simply asking Paston to tamper with the jury.

But the worst "maintainer" of all in Norfolk was Fastolf's enemy, Sir Thomas Tudenham. In 1451, when at last Paston and Fastolf and others had accused him and his friends, and the King's judges were coming, Tudenham rode to the Sessions with 400 horse and more, and, from all the villages around, his "well-willers" assembled. It would have been "right jopertous and fereful" for his accusers to have appeared, and, except Paston, they did not.[2]

The results which livery and maintenance produced can be seen in the story of Daniel and Ledham. Thomas Daniel was not a great landed gentleman in Norfolk; he was only one of the King's servants—first his usher and then his squire.

[1] *Act as jurymen.*

[2] *For the doings of Tudenham and of his friend Heydon, and of his friend Lord Moleyns, see "Paston Letters," vol i., Nos.* 77, 78, 116, 134, 144, 151, 158, *and* 159. *Lord Moleyns was heir of Lord Hungerford (by his father), of Lord Botreaux (by his mother), and of Lord Moleyns (by his wife).*

But the King depended on him. He gave him presents very often; once, 15 yards of blue cloth inwoven with gold, 15 yards of velvet figured with black, and 15 yards of black satin; another time he gave him the office of constable of the great castle of Castle Rising, near King's Lynn. Besides, living at court and being very acute, Daniel could see which lord was in favour, and could help that lord's affairs with the King. About 1447 he was apparently closely allied with the Duke of Somerset; and Daniel's influence in Norfolk was then unbounded.

Very early in 1450 Daniel came to take formal possession of Castle Rising. Presumably he brought his "meyney" with him. And there were many men in the shire who had taken his livery, or were ready to take it. Daniel had private business also in Norfolk. He thought he had some claim to Brandeston, a place upon the Norwich—Yarmouth Road. In February, 1450, Daniel and his men entered the manor house and took possession of it. Brandeston belonged to Osbert Mounford, who was at Calais, where he was a royal official. He sent quickly to his lord, Lord Scales, who said, "Since he is my tenant, it is my part to hold with him rather than with Daniel, . . . which I will do to my power." But Scales was sorry to have to act against Daniel, and rejoiced when he got a message from him to say "that he would be right well governed," [1] *i.e.* that he would behave properly.

By September, 1450, Mounford had got the help of John Heydon, the lawyer, and the two drove out Daniel's men from Brandeston. But Daniel was going up in the world. He had seen, or thought that he had seen, that the Duke of Somerset was the man of the future at court. It is true, Somerset and Daniel were both attacked in Parliament in December, 1450, and January, 1451. Daniel was

[1] "*Paston Letters*," *No.* 83.

accused of treason before the Lord Mayor of London ; and a Norfolk gentleman whom he had cheated brought a law-suit, in which Daniel dared not appear. But very soon Somerset was made the head of the royal household, and Daniel was in favour. At this time, then, his men made a second attack on Brandeston, and captured it a second time.[1] With help, probably of John Paston and his uncle, Philip Berney, who was related to Mounford, and other gentlemen, Mounford got it back before the end of 1451. All round Brandeston, in Blofield, and Burlingham, and Witton, there were men who sided with Daniel and had shared in these fights. One was Charles Noel, whom Daniel had made bailiff of Brandeston at 2*d.* a day. Noel was either a tenant of the Duke of Norfolk or had taken his livery. Another was Robert Ledham. Ledham had studied law in Gray's Inn, had been one of Lord Cromwell's [2] chief advisers, and now lived on his own very small estate at Witton. His experience of a great household had not been wasted on him ; therefore he had a meyney, a household of men " that use none other occupations but riots " : Cokett, and Roger Church, and seven others. And other men also came to Ledham's house daily, men " openly known for riots," such as Noel. At Ledham's pleasure, and at his orders, these men rode out, sometimes six and sometimes twelve, sometimes thirty and more, in quilted leather coats and steel caps, with bows and arrows, spears and bills, and did many " orrible dedes." [3] Daily, both workdays and holidays, six or seven used to sally out with bows and arrows, hooting and going into men's enclosures among the cattle, then going from alehouse to alehouse, threatening men and picking quarrels. Among the men they hated was Paston.

[1] "*Paston Letters,*" *No.* 92.
[2] *Cromwell was Daniel's predecessor as constable of Castle Rising.*
[3] "*Paston Letters,*" *Nos.* 179, 201.

By 1452 Daniel was most prosperous. He was a friend of the Duke of Somerset, and even a friend of the Duke of Norfolk. In the duke's castle of Framlingham he had married Margaret Howard, the duke's aunt. Ledham thought that now he was quite safe, for Daniel could now maintain him powerfully, and, at the worst, get him a royal pardon. On April 3 Paston was coming out of Norwich Cathedral, followed by his servants. They still had their hats in their hands. Six men, among them Noel, came up, drew sword and dagger, and rushed on Paston. One held his arms behind his back, the others threw themselves on the servants. Paston was helpless; but people came running up, and the six only dealt one wound to a servant. His blood polluted the church.

On the same day ten of Ledham's men hid themselves in a wood beside the road along which Philip Berney was riding. As the riders trotted past arrows flew out of the wood, the horses plunged and fell; Ledham's men rushed out, rode over Berney shouting "Traitor!" broke a bow over his head, and dragged him away. They kept him prisoner for some days. He was an old man, and never recovered; he died fifteen months later in great pain. Although sixty of Ledham's men had taken possession of a manor house of his, before his death, he dared do nothing, lest they should come and kill him outright. The village of Witton was at Ledham's mercy. In Burlingham, the next parish, his men took a man out of his house, robbed him and beat him nearly to death. He said afterwards that he would complain. Then they waylaid him in a lonely lane and beat him again.[1] No poor man dared accuse these men. Gentlemen who did so ran such risks as Paston and Berney ran; so a number of gentlemen prepared to inform the Duke of Norfolk. Paston said of Noel, "I never attempted to proceed against him as law and justice would, but to trust to my said Lord (of

[1] *For their other deeds, see "Paston Letters," Nos.* 179, 201.

Norfolk) that he would see him punished" (No. 175). But Norfolk was now quite under Daniel's influence; he did nothing. For this attempt Ledham punished his accusers. His man, Roger Church, got up a mock revolt; Ledham arrested him, and Church then turned King's evidence, that is, he said he would give evidence against himself and for the Crown. He accused the gentlemen who sided with Paston of treason. This accusation gave the gentlemen all the trouble of clearing themselves. Ledham and Church trusted that even if the truth came out (as it did) Daniel would get them a pardon. All these monstrous evil deeds were still unpunished in 1454.[1] Nor does it seem likely that they were ever punished.[2]

It was the custom of livery and the influence of maintenance that brought all Sir John Fastolf's plans to ruin. He left his castle at Caister to be turned into a great chantry, and the rest of his property to John Paston. But in 1469, just ten years after his death, the Duke of Norfolk was besieging Caister with hundreds of foot soldiers, with fifteen knights, and twenty-three squires, and with a little battery. He coveted the castle and invented a claim to it; his liveried men enabled him to drive out the garrison and make good his claim.

With such "meyneys" York and Warwick met with the King and the Duke of Somerset at St. Albans, and fought the first battle of St. Albans in 1455.[3] Not until 1460 did the war become a national war, fought upon a national question. In 1460 the King's party attainted the Duke of York; York raised his own claim to the crown. Queen Margaret organised an attack from the north of England. Then, and not until then, did the people, as a nation, take part in the war. When Queen Margaret's army was advancing southwards, to

[1] "*Paston Letters*," *No.* 201. [2] *Ibid. Nos.* 319, 393.
[3] *See* "*Paston Letters*" (*Ed. Gairdner*), *Nos.* 239-41.

the field of Wakefield. Clement Paston wrote from Norfolk to his brother John—

"In this country every man is well willing to go with my Lords here,[1] and I hope God shall help them, for the people in the North rob and steal and been appointed to pill (piliage) all this country and give

Fig. 21.—A Nobleman in Battle.

(From a life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.)

It was written about 1477 by his chaplain, J. Rous. The earl is wearing plate armour, with little mail.

away men's goods and livelihoods (property) in all the south country; and that will ask a mischief. My Lords that been here have as much as they may do to keep down all this country . . . for they [2] would be up on the men in North, for it is for the weal of all the South."

And because of this feeling, the nation, for the most part, fought for the Yorkist King Edward IV. Fifteen years later,

[1] *The Yorkist lords.* [2] *Norfolk men.*

again, they chose Henry VII. ; and so the national question came to an end. But there remained the question of livery and maintenance. It was only because great lords were killed in the Wars of the Roses, and their estates dismembered by forfeitures, that Henry VII. could create, little by little, a real peace.

Book List.

Author.	Title.	Publisher.
G. Chaucer ..	Canterbury Tales: Prologue; The Knight's Tale; The Book of the Duchess	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
P. de Commines	Chronicles. [The Tudor Translations. Editor: W. E. Henley.]	*D. Nutt.*
G. G. Coulton ..	Chaucer and His England ..	*Methuen.*
	Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation	*Cambridge Univ. Press.*
H. Druitt ..	Costume . . . on Monumental Brasses	*De la More Press.*
C. Ffoulkes ..	Armour and Weapons	*Clarendon Press.*
J. Froissart ..	Tales from Froissart	*Walter Scott & Co.*
	The Scott Library. Editor: F. Marzials	
J. Gairdner ..	Paston Letters	*Chatto & Windus.*
A. Harvey ..	Castles and Walled Towns ..	*Methuen.*
T. Mallory ..	Morte D'Arthur	*De la More Press.*
	The Scott Library	*Walter Scott & Co.*
C. Oman ..	History of the Art of War ..	*Clarendon Press, Oxford.*
,, ..	Warwick the King Maker. [Eng. Men of Action Ser.] ..	*Macmillan & Co.*
M & C. Quennell	History of Everyday Things ..	*B. T. Batsford.*
H. B. Traill ..	Social England	*Cassell & Co.*
K. Vickers ..	Humfrey Duke of Gloucester ..	*Constable & Co.*
J. Smyth ..	Lives of the Berkeleys	*Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*

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